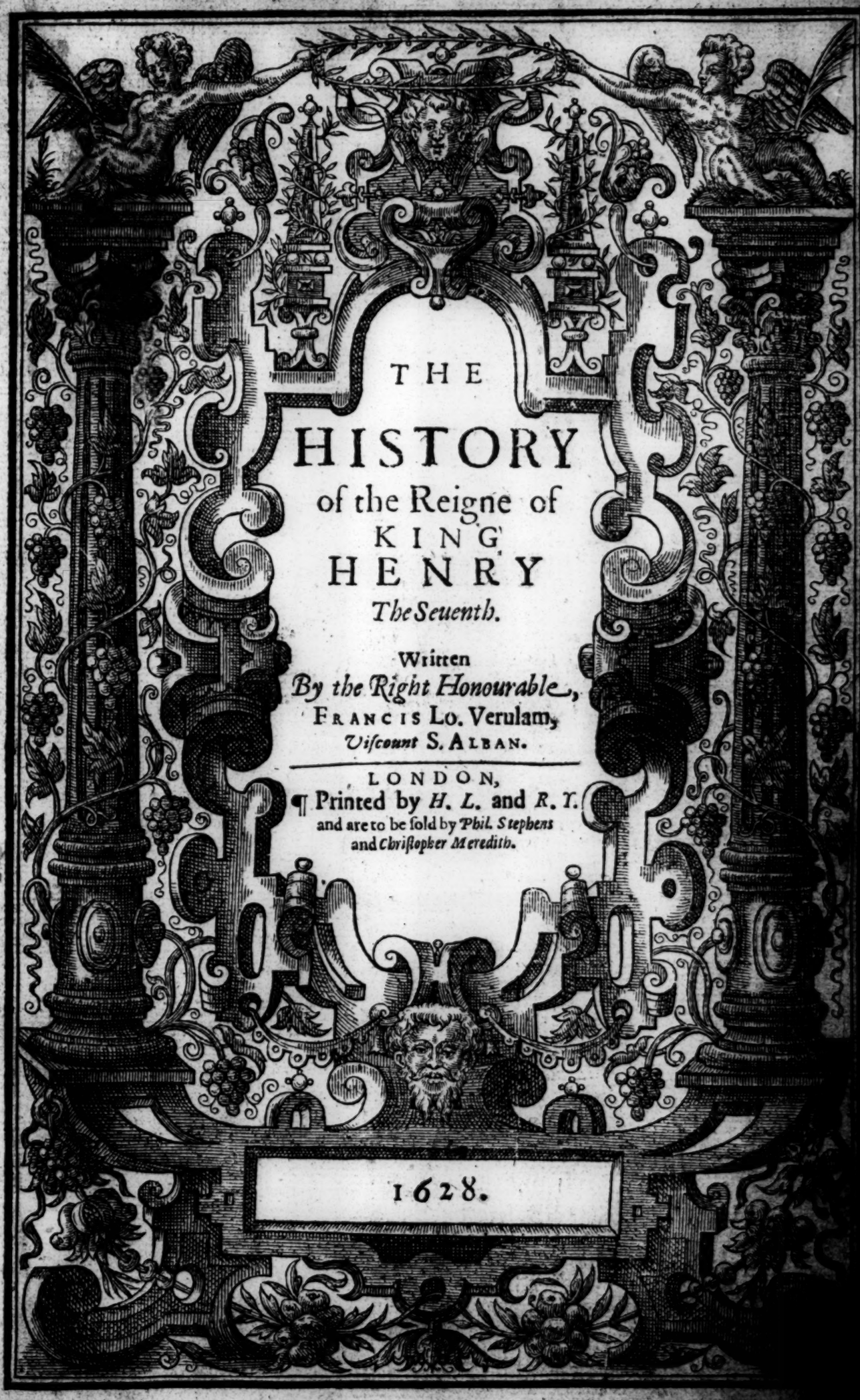


THE HISTORY of the Reigne of KING HENRY *The Seuenth.*

Written
By the Right Honourable,
FRANCIS Lo. Verulam,
Viſcount S. ALBAN.

LONDON,
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1628.

TO THE MOST ILLVSTRIOVS AND MOST EXCELLENT PRINCE, CHARLES,

Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, Earle of *Cheſter*, &c.

It may Pleaſe Your Highneſſe,

IN part of my acknowledgment to *Your Highneſſe*, I haue endeuoured to doe *Honour* to the *Memory* of the laſt *King* of ENGLAND, that was *Anceſtour* to the *King* your *Father*, and *Your ſelfe*; and was that *King* to whom both *Unions* may in a ſort

ſort referre: That of the *Roſes* beeing in him Conſummate, and that of the *Kingdomes* by him begunne. Beſides, his *Times* deſerue it. For hee was a *Wiſe Man*, and an *Excellent King*; and yet the *Times* were rough, and full of Mutations, and rare Accidents. And it is with *Times*, as it is with *Wayes*. Some are more *Vp-hill* and *Downe-hill*, and ſome are more *Flat* and *Plaine*; and the *One* is better for the *Liuer*, and the *Other* for the *Writer*. I haue not flattered him, but took him to life as well as I could, ſitting ſo farre off, and hauing no better light. It is true, *Your Highneſſe* hath a *Liuing Patterne*, *Incomparable*, of the *King* your *Father*. But it is not amiſſe for *You* alſo to ſee one of theſe Ancient Peeces. GOD preſerue *Your Highneſſe*.

Your Highneſſes moſt humble and

deuoted Seruant,

Francis St. *Alban*.

THE HISTORIE OF THE REIGNE OF *King* HENRY *the Seuenth.*

1485 Aug 22

AFter that RICHARD the third of that name, King in fact onely, but Tyrant both in Title and Regiment, and ſo commonly termed and reputed in all times ſince, was by the *Diuine Reuenge*, fauouring the deſigne of an Exilde man, ouerthrowne and ſlaine at *Boſworth*-field: There ſucceeded in the Kingdome the Earle of *Richmond*, thence-forth ſtiled HENRY the Seuenth. The King immediately after the Victorie, as one that had beene bred vnder a deuout Mother, and was in his nature, a great Obſeruer of religious formes, cauſed *Te Deum Laudamus* to be ſolemnely ſung in the preſence of the whole Armie vpon the place, and was himſelfe with generall applauſe, and great Cries of Ioy, in a kind of *Militar Election*, or *Recognition*, ſaluted King. Meane-while the body

of RICHARD after many indignities and reproches (the *Dirigies* and *Obſequies* of the common people towards *Tyrants*) was obſcurely buried. For though the King of his nobleneſſe gaue charge vnto the *Friers* of *Leiceſter* to ſee an honourable interrment to be giuen to it, yet the *Religious People* themſelues (being not free from the humors of the *Vulgar*) neglected it; wherein neuertheleſſe they did not then incurre any mans blame or cenſure. No man thinking any ignominie or contumely vnworthy of him, that had beene the Executioner of King HENRY the Sixth (that innocent Prince) with his owne hands; the Contriuer of the death of the Duke of *Clarence*, his Brother; the Murderer of his two *Nephewes* (one of them his lawfull King in the Preſent, and the other in the Future, fayling of him) and vehemently ſuſpected to haue beene the Impoiſoner of his wife, thereby to make vacant his Bed, for a Marriage within the *Degrees forbidden*. And although he were a Prince in Militar vertue approued, iealous of the honour of the *Engliſh Nation*, and likewiſe a good *Law-maker*, for the eaſe and ſolace of the common people: yet his Cruelties and Parricides in the opinion of all men, weighed downe his Vertues and merits; and in the opinion of wiſe men, euen thoſe Vertues themſelues were conceiued to beerather fained, and *Affected* things to ſerue his Ambition, then true *Qualities* ingenerate in his Iudgement or Nature. And therfore it was noted by men of great vnderſtanding (who ſeeing his after Acts, looked backe vpon his former Proceedings) that euen in the time of King EDWARD his Brother, he was not without ſecret *Traines* and *Mines* to turne Enuie and Hatred vpon his Brothers Gouernement; as hauing an Expectation and a kind of Diuination, that the King, by reaſon of his many diſorders, could not be of long life, but was like to leaue

his

his Sonnes of tender yeares; and then hee knew well, how easie a step it was, from the place of a *Protector*, and first *Prince* of the *Bloud*, to the Crowne. And that out of this deepe root of Ambition it sprang, that aswell at the Treatie of peace that passed betweene EDWARD the Fourth, and LEWIS the Eleuenth of *France*, concluded by Enteruiew of both Kings at *Piqueny*, as vpon all other Occasions, RICHARD then Duke of *Gloceſter*, stood euer vpon the side of Honour, raising his owne Reputation to the disaduantage of the King his Brother, and drawing the eyes of all (especially of the *Nobles* and *Souldiours*) vpon himselfe; as if the King by his voluptuous life and meane marriage, were become effeminate and lesse sensible of honour, and Reason of State, then was fit for a King. And as for the Politique and wholesome *Lawes* which were enacted in his time, they were interpreted to be but the Brocage of an *Vsurper*, therby to wooe, and winne the hearts of the people, as being conscious to himselfe that the true obligations of *Soueraigntie* in him failed, and were wanting. But King HENRY in the very entrance of his Reigne, and the instant of time, when the Kingdome was cast into his Armes, met with a Point of great difficultie, and knotty to solue, able to trouble and confound the wisest King in the newnesse of his Estate; and so much the more, because it could not endure a *Deliberation*, but must be at once deliberated and determined. There were fallen to his lot, and concurrent in his person, three seuerall *Titles* to the Imperiall Crowne. The first, the title of the Lady *Elizabeth*, with whom, by precedent Pact with the Partie that brought him in, he was to marry. The second, the ancient and long disputed Title (both by *Plea*, and *Armes*) of the House of *Lancaster*, to which he was Inheritour in his owne Person. The third, the

Title of the *Sword* or *Conqueſt*, for that he came in by victorie of Battaile, and that the King in poſſeſſion was ſlaine in the field. The firſt of theſe was faireſt, and moſt like to giue contentment to the people, who by two and twentie yeares Reigne of King EDWARD the Fourth, had beene fully made capable of the clearneſſe of the Title of the *White-Roſe* or Houſe of *Yorke*; and by the milde and plauſible Reigne of the ſame king toward his Latter time, were become affectionate to that *Line*. But then it lay plaine before his Eyes, that if he relied vpon that *Title*, he could be but a *King* at *Curteſie*, and haue rather a *Matrimoniall* then a *Regall* power: the right remaining in his *Queene*, vpon whoſe deceaſe, either with Iſſue, or without Iſſue, he was to giue place, and bee remoued. And though he ſhould obtaine by *Parliament* to bee continued, yet hee knew there was a very great difference betweene a King that holdeth his Crowne by a ciuill act of *Eſtates*, and one that holdeth it originally by the Law of *Nature*, and deſcent of Bloud. Neither wanted there euen at that time ſecret Rumors and whiſperings (which afterwards gathered ſtrength and turned to great troubles) that the two young Sonnes of King EDWARD the Fourth, or one of them (which were ſaid to be deſtroyed in the Tower) were not indeed murthered, but conueyed ſecretly away, and were yet liuing: which if it had beene true, had preuented the Title of the Lady ELIZABETH. On the other ſide, if he ſtood vpon his owne Title of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, inherent in his Perſon; hee knew it was a Title condemned by *Parliament*, and generally preiudged in the common opinion of the Realme, and that it tended directly to the diſinheriſon of the Line of *Yorke*, held then the indubiate Heires of the crowne. So that if he ſhould haue no Iſſue by the Lady ELIZABETH, which ſhould bee

Deſcen-

Deſcendents of the *Double-Line*, when the ancient flames of Diſcord and inteſtine Warres vpon the Competition of both Houſes, would againe returne and reuiue.

As for *Conqueſt* notwithſtanding, Sir WILLIAM STANLEY, after ſome acclamations of the Souldiers in the Field, had put a Crowne of ornament (which RICHARD wore in the Battaile, and was found amongſt the Spoiles) vpon King HENRIES head, as if there were his chiefe Title; yet he remembred well vpon what Conditions and Agreements hee was brought in, and that to claime as *Conquerour*, was to put aſwell his owne Partie, as the reſt, into Terror and Feare; as that which gaue him power of diſanulling of Lawes, and diſpoſing of Mens Fortunes and Eſtates, and the like points of abſolute power, being in themſelues ſo harſh and odious, as that WILLIAM himſelfe, commonly called the *Conquerour*, howſoeuer he vſed and exerciſed the power of a *Conquerour*, to reward his *Normans*, yet he forbare to vſe that Claime in the beginning, but mixed it with a Titularie pretence grounded vpon the *Will* and deſignation of EDWARD the *Confeſſor*. But the King out of the greatneſſe of his owne minde, preſently caſt the Die, and the inconueniences appearing vnto him on all parts; and knowing there could not be any *Interreigne* or ſuſpenſion of Title; and preferring his affection to his owne Line and Bloud, and liking that Title beſt which made him independent; and being in his Nature and conſtitution of minde not very apprehenſiue or forecaſting of future Euents a-farre off, but an Intertainer of Fortune by the Day; reſolued to reſt vpon the Title of *Lancaſter* as the *Maine*, and to vſe the other two, that of *Marriage*, and that of *Battaile*, but as *Supporters*, the one to appeaſe ſecret Diſcontents, and the other to beat downe open murmur and diſpute: not for-

forgetting that the ſame Title of *Lancaſter* had formerly maintained a poſſeſſion of three Deſcents in the Crowne, and might haue proued a *Perpetuitie*, had it not ended in the weakneſſe and inabilitie of the laſt Prince. Whereupon the King preſently that very day, being the two and twentieth of Auguſt, aſſumed the Stile of King in his owne name, without mention of the Lady ELIZABETH at all, or any relation therunto. In which courſe hee euer after perſiſted, which did ſpin him a threed of many ſeditions and troubles. The King full of theſe thoughts, before his departure from *Leiceſter*, diſpatched Sir ROBERT WILLOVGHBY to the Caſtle of *Sheriffe-Hutton* in *Yorkeſhire*, where were kept in ſafe cuſtodie by King RICHARDS commandement, both the Lady ELIZABETH daughter of king EDWARD, and EDWARD PLANTAGENET, Sonne and Heire to GEORGE Duke of *Clarence*. This EDWARD was by the Kings warrant deliuered from the Conſtable of the Caſtle to the hand of Sir ROBERT WILLOVGHBY; and by him with all ſafetie and diligence conueyed to the Tower of *London*, where he was ſhut vp *Cloſe-priſoner*. Which Act of the Kings (being an Act meerely of Policie and power) proceeded not ſo much from any apprehenſion he had of Doctor *Shawes* tale at *Pauls Croſſe*, for the baſtarding of EDWARD the fourths Iſſues, in which caſe this young Gentleman was to ſucceed (for that Fable was euer exploded) but vpon a ſetled diſpoſition to depreſſe all Eminent perſons of the Line of *Yorke*. Wherin ſtill the King out of ſtrength of Will, or weakneſſe of Iudgement, did vſe to ſhew a little more of the *Partie*, then of the *King*.

For the Lady ELIZABETH ſhee receiued alſo a direction to repaire with all conuenient ſpeed to *London*, and there to remaine with the Queene *Dowager*

wager her Mother; which accordingly ſhe ſoone after did, accompanied with many *Noble-men* and *Ladies* of Honour. In the meane ſeaſon the King ſet forwards by eaſie iourneys to the Citie of *London*, receiuing the Acclamations and Applauſes of the People as he went, which indeed were true and vnfained, as might well appeare in the very Demonſtrations and Fulneſſe of the Crie. For they thought generally that hee was a *Prince* as ordayned and ſent downe from Heauen, to vnite and put to an end the long diſſentions of the two Houſes; which although they had had in the times of HENRY the Fourth, HENRY the Fifth, and a part of HENRY the Sixth on the one ſide, and the times of EDWARD the Fourth on the other, *Lucide-interuals* and happy Pauſes; yet they did euer hang ouer the *Kingdome*, readie to breake forth into new Perturbations and Calamities. And as his victorie gaue him the *Knee*, ſo his purpoſe of marriage with the Lady ELIZABETH, gaue him the *Heart*; ſo that both *Knee* and *Heart* did truely bow before him.

Hee on the other ſide with great wiſedome (not ignorant of the affections and feares of the people) to diſperſe the conceit and terrour of a *Conqueſt*, had giuen order that there ſhould be nothing in his iourney like vnto a warlike March, or manner: but rather like vnto the *Progreſſe* of a King in full peace and aſſurance.

Hee entred the Citie vpon a *Saturday*, as hee had alſo obtained the Victorie vpon a *Saturday*, which day of the Weeke firſt vpon an Obſeruation, and after vpon Memorie and Fancie, hee accounted and choſe as a day proſperous vnto him.

The *Major* and *Companies* of the Citie receiued him at *Shore-ditch*: whence, with great and Honorable attendance and troups of Noble-men, and Perſons of

of Qualitie hee entred the Citie; himſelfe not being on Horſe-backe, or in any open *Chaire*, or *Throne*, but in a cloſe *Chariot*, as one that hauing beene ſomtimes an Enemie to the whole State, and a Proſcribed perſon, choſe rather to keepe State, and ſtrike a Reuerence into the people then to fawne vpon them.

He went firſt into Saint *Paules* Church, where not meaning that the people ſhould forget too ſoone that hee came in by Battaile, hee made Offertorie of his *Standards*, and had Orizons and *Te Deum* againe ſung, and went to his Lodging prepared in the *Biſhop* of *Londons Palace*, where he ſtayed for a time.

During his abode there, he aſſembled his *Counſell*, and other principall perſons, in preſence of whom, he did renew againe his promiſe to marrie with the *Lady* ELIZABETH. This hee did the rather, becauſe hauing at his comming out of *Britaine* giuen artificially, for ſeruing of his owne turne ſome hopes, in caſe he obtained the Kingdome, to marrie ANNE Inheritreſſe to the Duchie of *Britaine*, whom CHARLES the Eight of *France* ſoone after married; It bred ſome doubt and ſuſpicion amongſt diuers, that he was not ſincere, or at leaſt not fixed in going on with the match of *England* ſo much deſired: which Conceit alſo though it were but Talke and Diſcourſe did much afflict the poore *Lady* ELIZABETH her ſelfe. But howſoeuer he both truly intended it, and deſired alſo it ſhould be ſo beleeued, (the better to extinguiſh Enuie and Contradiction to his other purpoſes) yet was he reſolued in himſelfe not to proceed to the Conſummation thereof till his *Coronation* and a *Parliament* were paſt. The one, leaſt a ioynt Coronation of himſelfe and his *Queene* might giue any countenance of participation of Title; The other, leaſt in the intayling of the *Crowne* to himſelfe, which he hoped to obtaine by *Parliament*, the

Votes

Votes of the *Parliament* might any wayes reflect vpon her.

About this time in *Autumne*, towards the end of *September*, there began and reigned in the Citie and other parts of the Kingdome a *Diſeaſe* then new: which of the Accidents and manner thereof, they called the *Sweating Sickneſſe*. This Diſeaſe had a ſwift courſe both in the *Sicke-Body* and in the *Time* and Period of the laſting therof: for they that were taken with it, vpon foure and twentie houres eſcaping were thought almoſt aſſured. And as to the *Time* of the malice and reigne of the Diſeaſe ere it ceaſed; It began about the one and twentieth of *September*, and cleared vp before the end of *October*, inſomuch as it was no hinderance to the Kings *Coronation*, which was the laſt of *October*: nor (which was more) to the holding of the *Parliament*, which began but ſeuen dayes after. It was a *Peſtilent-Feuer*, but as it ſeemeth not ſeated in the Veynes or Humors, for that there followed no *Carbuncle*, no purple or liuide Spots, or the like, the Maſſe of the Bodie being not tainted: onely a maligne *Vapour* flew to the Heart and ſeaſed the vitall *Spirits*; which ſtirred Nature to ſtriue to ſend it forth by an extreme ſweat. And it appeared by experience that this Diſeaſe was rather a Surpriſe of Nature, than obſtinate to remedies, if it were in time looked vnto. For if the *Patient* were kept in an equall temper, both for Clothes, Fire, and Drinke, moderately warme, with temperate *Cordials*, wherby Natures worke were neither irritated by *Heat*, nor turned backe by *Cold*, hee commonly recouered. But infinite Perſons died ſodainly of it, before the manner of the Cure and attendance was knowne. It was conceiued not to bee an *Epidemicke* Diſeaſe, but to proceed from a maliguitie in the conſtitution of the Aire, gathered by the prediſpoſitions

of Seaſons: and the ſpeedie ceſſation declared as much.

On SIMON and IVDES Euen the King dined with THOMAS BOVRCHIER, *Arch-Biſhop* of *Canterburie*, and *Cardinall*: and from *Lambeth* went by Land ouer the Bridge to the Tower, where the morrow after hee made twelue *Knights-Bannerets*. But for *Creations* hee diſpenſed them with a ſparing hand. For notwithſtanding a Field ſo lately fought, and a *Coronation* ſo neere at hand, hee onely created three: IASPER Earle of *Pembroke* (the Kings Vncle) was created Duke of *Bedford*; THOMAS the Lord STANLEY (the Kings Father-in-law Earle of *Darbie*; and EDWARD COVRTNEY Earle of *Deuon*; though the King had then neuertheleſſe a purpoſe in himſelfe to make more in time of *Parliament*; bearing a wiſe and decent reſpect to diſtribute his *Creations*, ſome to honour his *Coronation*, and ſome his *Parliament*.

The *Coronation* followed two dayes after vpon the thirtieth day of *October* in the yeare of our Lord 1485. At which time INNOCENT the Eight was *Pope* of *Rome*; FREDERICKE the Third, *Emperour* of *Almaine*; and MAXIMILIAN his ſonne newly choſen King of the *Romans*; CHARLES the Eight, King of *France*; FERDINANDO and ISABELLA, Kings of *Spain*; and IAMES the Third, King of *Scotland*: with all which Kings and States, the King was at that time in good peace and amitie. At which day alſo (as if the Crowne vpon his head, had put perils into his thoughts) he did inſtitute for the better ſecuritie of his perſon a Band of fiftie *Archers* vnder a *Captaine* to attend him, by the name of *Yeomen*-of-his-*Guard*: and yet that it might be thought to be rather a matter of *Dignitie*, after the imitation of that hee had knowne abroad, then any matter of *Diffidence* appro-

priate

priate to his owne Caſe, hee made it to be vnderſtood for an *Ordinance* not temporarie, but to hold in ſucceſſion for euer after.

1485

The ſeuenth of *Nouember* the King held his *Parliament* at *Weſtminſter*, which hee had ſummoned immediately after his comming to *London*. His Ends in calling a *Parliament* (and that ſo ſpeedily) were chiefly three; *Firſt*, to procure the Crowne to bee entayled vpon himſelfe. *Next*, to haue the Attaindors of all of his Partie (which were in no ſmall number) reuerſed, and all Acts of hoſtilitie by them done in his quarrell, remitted and diſcharged: and on the other ſide to attaine by *Parliament*, the *Heads* and *Principals* of his Enemies. The *Third*, to calme and quiet the feares of the reſt of that Partie by a *Generall-Pardon*: not being ignorant in how great danger a King ſtands from his Subiects, when moſt of his Subiects are conſcious in themſelues, that they ſtand in his danger. Vnto theſe three ſpeciall Motiues of a *Parliament* was added, that hee as a prudent and moderate *Prince*, made this iudgement; that it was fit for him to haſten to let his people ſee, that hee meant to gouerne by *Law*, howſoeuer hee came in by the *Sword*: and fit alſo to reclaime them to know him for their *King*, whom they had ſo lately talked of as an *Enemie* or *Baniſhed-man*, For that which concerned the Entayling of the *Crowne*; (more then that he was true to his owne Will, that hee would not endure any mention of the Lady ELIZABETH: no not in the nature of *Speciall-Intaile*,) he carried it otherwiſe with great wiſdome and meaſure. For he did not preſſe to haue the *Act* penned by way of *Declaration* or *Recognition* of right: as on the other ſide, he auoyded to haue it by new *Law* or *Ordinance*; but choſe rather a kind of middle-way, by way of *Eſtabliſhment*, and that vnder couert and indifferent words; *That the inheritance*

of the Crowne ſhould reſt, remaine, and abide in the King, &c. which words might equally be applied; That the Crowne ſhould continue to him: but whether as hauing former right to it, (which was doubtfull) or hauing it then in Fact and poſſeſſion (which no man denied) was left faire to interpretation eyther way. And againe for the limitation of the *Entaile*, he did not preſſe it to goe further then to himſelfe and to the *Heires* of his body, not ſpeaking of his *right Heires*; but leauing that to the Law to decide: ſo as the Entaile might ſeeme rather a perſonall fauour to him, and his children, then a totall Diſ-inheriſon to the Houſe of *Yorke*. And in this forme, was the Law drawne and paſſed. Which *Statute* hee procured to be confirmed by the *Popes Bull* the yeare following, with mention neuertheleſſe (by way of Recitall) of his other Titles; both of *Deſcent* and *Conqueſt*. So as now the wreath of *Three* was made a wreath of *Fiue*, for to the three firſt Titles of the two Houſes, or Lines, and Conqueſt, were added two more; the Authorities *Parliamentarie* and *Papall*.

The King likewiſe in the *Reuerſall* of the Attaindors of his *Partakers*, and diſcharging them of all offences incident to his ſeruice and ſuccour, had his Will: and Acts did paſſe accordingly. In the paſſage whereof, exception was taken to diuers Perſons in the houſe of *Commons* for that they were attainted, and therby not legall, nor habilitate to ſerue in *Parliament*, being diſabled in the higheſt degree; And that it ſhould bee a great incongruitie to haue them to make *Lawes*, who themſelues were not *Inlawed*. The truth was, that diuers of thoſe which had in the time of King RICHARD beene ſtrongeſt and moſt declared for the Kings Partie, were returned *Knights* and *Burgeſſes* for the *Parliament*; whether by care or recom-

recommendation from the *State*, or the voluntarie inclination of the *People*: many of which had beene by RICHARD the third attainted by *Outlawries*, or otherwiſe. The King was ſomewhat troubled with this. For though it had a graue and ſpecious Shew, yet it reflected vpon his Partie. But wiſely not ſhewing himſelfe at all moued therewith, hee would not vnderſtand it but as a *Caſe* in Law; and wiſhed the *Iudges* to be aduiſed therupon: who for that purpoſe were forthwith aſſembled in the *Exchequer-Chamber* (which is the *Councell-Chamber* of the *Iudges*) and vpon deliberation they gaue a graue and ſafe *Opinion* and *Aduice*, mixed with *Law* and *Conuenience*; which was, that the *Knights* and *Burgeſſes* attainted by the courſe of Law, ſhould forbeare to come into the Houſe, till a Law were paſſed for the reuerſall of their *Attaindors*.

It was at that time incidently moued amongſt the *Iudges* in their Conſultation, what ſhould be done for the King himſelfe, who likewiſe was attainted? But it was with vnanimous conſent reſolued, *That the Crowne takes away all defects and ſtops in bloud: and that from the time the King did aſſume the Crowne, the fountaine was cleared, and all Attaindors and Corruption of bloud diſcharged.* But neuertheleſſe for *Honours* ſake it was ordained by *Parliament*, that all *Records* wherein there was any memorie, or mention of the Kings *Attaindor*, ſhould be defaced, cancelled, and taken off the *File*.

But on the part of the Kings *Enemies* there were by *Parliament* attainted; the late Duke of *Gloceſter*, calling himſelfe RICHARD the Third, The Duke of *Norfolke*, the Earle of *Surrey*, Viſcount LOVEL, the Lord FERRERS, the Lord ZOVCH, RICHARD RATCLIFFE, WILLIAM CATESBY, and many others of degree and qualitie. In which

Bills

Bills of *Attaindors*, neuertheleſſe there were contained many iuſt and temperate *Clauſes*, *Sauings*, and *Prouiſoes*, well ſhewing and fore-tokening the wiſdome, ſtay, and moderation of the Kings ſpirit of Gouernment. And for the *Pardon* of the reſt, that had ſtood againſt the King; the King, vpon a ſecond aduice, thought it not fit it ſhould paſſe by *Parliament*, the better (being matter of Grace) to impropriate the thankes to himſelfe: vſing onely the opportunitie of a *Parliament* time, the better to diſperſe it into the *Veines* of the *Kingdome*. Therfore during the *Parliament*, hee publiſhed his *Royall Proclamation*, offering *Pardon* and *Grace* of reſtitution, to all ſuch as had taken *Armes*, or beene participant of any Attempts againſt him; ſo as, they ſubmitted themſelues to his mercie by a Day, and tooke the Oath of *Allegeance* and Fidelitie to him. Whereupon many came out of *Sanctuary*, and many more came out of *Feare*, no leſſe guiltie then thoſe that had taken *Sanctuarie*.

As for *Money* or *Treaſure*, the King thought it not ſeaſonable, or fit to demand any of his *Subiects* at this *Parliament*: both becauſe he had receiued ſatisfaction from them in matters of ſo great importance: and becauſe hee could not remunerate them with any *Generall Pardon*, being preuented therin by the *Coronation Pardon*, paſſed immediatly before: but chiefly, for that it was in euery mans eye, what great *Forfeitures* and *Confiſcations* he had at that preſent to helpe himſelfe: Wherby thoſe *Caſualties* of the Crowne might in reaſon ſpare the *Purſes* of the Subiect; eſpecially in a time when he was in peace with all his Neighbours. Some few *Lawes* paſſed at that *Parliament*, almoſt for forme ſake: amongſt which there was *One*, to reduce Aliens, being made Denizens, to pay ſtrangers Cuſtomes; and *another*, to draw to himſelfe the *Seiſures* and *Compoſitions* of *Italians Goods*, for not imployment being

Points

Points of Profit to his Coffers, whereof from the very Beginning he was not forgetfull; and had beene more happie at the Latter End, if his early prouidence (which kept him from all neceſſitie of exacting vpon his people) could likewiſe haue attemp'red his nature therin. He added during *Parliament*, to his former *Creations*, the *Innoblement* or aduancement in *Nobilitie* of a few others: The Lord CHANDOS of *Brittaine*, was made Earle of *Bathe*; and Sir GILES DAWBENY was made Lord *Dawbeny*; and Sir ROBERT WILLOVGHBY Lord *Brooke*.

The King did alſo with great Nobleneſſe and Bountie (which Vertues at that time had their turnes in his Nature) reſtore EDWARD STAFFORD (eldeſt ſonne to HENRY, Duke of *Buckingham*, attainted in the time of King RICHARD) not onely to his *Dignities*, but to his *Fortunes* and *Poſſeßions*, which were great: to which he was moued alſo by a kind of gratitude, for that the Duke was the man that moued the firſt Stone againſt the Tyrannie of King RICHARD, and indeed made the King a bridge to the Crowne vpon his owne Ruines. Thus the *Parliament* brake vp.

The *Parliament* being diſſolued, the King ſent forthwith Money to redeeme the Marqueſſe *Dorſet*, and Sir IOHN BOVRCHIER, whom hee had left as his *Pledges* at *Paris*, for Money which hee had borrowed, when he made his Expedition for *England*. And thereupon hee tooke a fit occaſion to ſend the *Lord Treaſurer* and *Maſter* BRAY (whom hee vſed as Councellor) to the Lord *Maior* of *London*, requiring of the Citie a *Preſt* of ſix thouſand Markes: But after many *Parlees*, hee could obtaine but two thouſand pounds. Which neuertheleſſe the King tooke in good part; as Men vſe to doe, that practiſe to borrow Money, when they haue no need. About this time, the

King

King called vnto his *Priuie-Councell*, IOHN MORTON, and RICHARD FOX, the one *Bishop* of *Elie*, the other *Bishop* of *Exceſter*, vigilant men, and ſecret, and ſuch as kept watch with him almoſt vpon al men elſe. They had beene both verſed in his Affaires, before hee came to the Crowne, and were partakers of his aduerſe Fortune. This MORTON ſoone after vpon the death of BOVRCHIER, he made *Archbiſhop* of *Canterbury*. And for FOX, hee made him Lord *Keeper* of his *Priuie-Seale*, and afterwards aduanced him by Degrees, from *Exceſter* to *Bathe* and *Wells*, thence to *Durham*, and laſt, to *Wincheſter*. For although the King loued to imploy and aduance *Biſhops*, becauſe hauing rich *Biſhopricks*, they carried their Reward vpon themſelues: yet he did vſe to raiſe them by ſteps; that hee might not loſe the profit of the *Firſt-fruits*, which by that courſe of Gradation was multiplied.

At laſt, vpon the eighteenth of *Ianuarie* was ſolemnized the ſo long expected and ſo much deſired Marriage, betweene the King & the Lady ELIZABETH: Which Day of Marriage was celebrated with greater Triumph, and Demonſtrations (eſpecially on the peoples part) of Ioy and Gladneſſe, than the dayes eyther of his Entrie, or Coronation; which the King rather noted, than liked. And it is true, that all his life time, while the Lady ELIZABETH liued with him, (for ſhe died before him) hee ſhewed himſelfe no very indulgent Husband towards her, though ſhee was beautifull, gentle, and fruitfull. But his auerſion towards the Houſe of YORKE was ſo predominant in him, as it found place, not only in his *Warres* and *Counſells*, but in his *Chamber* and *Bed*.

Towards the middle of the *Spring*, the King, full of confidence and aſſurance, as a *Prince* that had beene victorious in *Battaile*, and had preuailed with his *Parliament*

liament in all that hee desired, and had the *Ring* of *Acclamations* fresh in his eares, thought the rest of his Raigne should bee but Play, and the enioying of a *Kingdome*. Yet as a wise and watchfull King, hee would not neglect any thing for his safetie; thinking neuertheleſſe to performe all things now, rather as an *Exercise*, then as a *Labour*. So hee being truly informed, that the *Northerne parts* were not onely affectionate to the House of YORKE, but particularly had beene deuoted to King RICHARD the third; thought it would bee a Summer well spent to visit those *Parts*, and by his presence and application of himselfe, to reclaime and rectifie those humors. But the King, in his accompt of *Peace*, and *Calmes*, did much ouer-cast his Fortunes, which proued for many yeares together full of *Broken Seas*, *Tides*, and *Tempests*. For he was no sooner come to *Lincolne*, where he kept his *Easter*, but he receiued newes, that the *Lord* LOVEL, HVMPHREY STAFFORD, and THOMAS STAFFORD (who had formerly taken *Sanctuarie* at *Colchester*) were departed out of *Sanctuarie*, but to what place, no man could tell. Which aduertisement, the King despised, and continued his Iourney to *Yorke*. At *Yorke* there came fresh and more certaine aduertisement, that the *Lord* LOVEL was at hand with a great power of men, and that the STAFFORDS were in Armes in *Worcestershire*, and had made their approaches to the Citie of *Worcester*, to assaile it. The King, as a Prince of great and profound iudgement, was not much moued with it; for that hee thought it was but a Ragge or Remnant of *Bosworth-Field*, and had nothing in it of the maine Partie of the house of YORKE. But hee was more doubtfull of the raysing of Forces to resist the *Rebels*, then of the Resistance it selfe; for that hee was in a *Core* of People, whose affections he suspected. But the Action enduring no delay, hee did speedily

leuie and ſend againſt the *Lord* LOVEL to the number of three thouſand men, ill armed, but well aſſured (being taken ſome few out of his owne Traine, and the reſt out of the Tenants and Followers of ſuch as were ſafe to bee truſted) vnder the Conduct of the *Duke* of *Bedford*. And as his manner was to ſend his Pardons rather before the Sword then after, hee gaue *Commiſsion* to the *Duke*, to proclaime pardon to all that would come in: Which the *Duke*, vpon his approach to the *Lord* LOVELS Campe, did performe. And it fell out as the King expected; the *Heralds* were the *Great-Ordnance*. For the *Lord* LOVEL, vpon *Proclamation* of pardon, miſtruſting his men, fled into *Lancaſhire*, and lurking for a time with Sir THOMAS BROVGHTON, after ſailed ouer into *Flanders*, to the *Ladie* MARGARET. And his men, forſaken of their *Captaine*, did preſently ſubmit themſelues to the *Duke*. The STAFFORDS likewiſe, and their Forces, hearing what had happened to the *Lord* LOVEL (in whoſe ſucceſſe their chiefe truſt was) deſpaired, and diſperſed. The two Brothers, taking *Sanctuarie* at *Colnham*, a Village neare *Abington*; which Place, vpon view of their *Priuiledge* in the Kings Bench, being iudged no ſufficient *Sanctuarie* for Traitors, HVMPHREY was executed at *Tiburne*; and THOMAS, as being led by his elder brother, was pardoned. So this *Rebellion* proued but a Blaſt, and the King hauing by this Iourney purged a little the Dregs and Leauen of the *Northerne People*, that were before in no good affection towards him, returned to *London*.

In *September* following, the *Queene* was deliuered of her firſt ſonne, whom the King (in honour of the *Brittiſh-Race*, of which himſelfe was) named ARTHVR, according to the Name of that ancient worthie King of the *Britaines*; in whoſe Acts there is truth enough to make him Famous, beſides that which is

Fabu-

Fabulous. The *Childe* was ſtrong and able, though hee was borne in the *eight Moneth*, which the Phyſicians doe preiudge.

THere followed this yeare, being the *Second* of the Kings Reigne, a ſtrange Accident of *State*, whereof the Relations which wee haue, are ſo naked, as they leaue it ſcarce credible; not for the nature of it (for it hath fallen out oft) but for the manner and circumſtance of it, eſpecially in the beginnings. Therfore wee ſhall make our Iudgement vpon the things themſelues, as they giue light one to another, and (as wee can) digge *Truth* out of the *Mine*. The King was greene in his eſtate; and contrarie to his owne opinion, and deſert both, was not without much hatred throughout the *Realme*. The root of all, was the diſcountenancing of the Houſe of YORKE, which the generall Bodie of the *Realme* ſtill affected. This did alienate the hearts of the *Subiects* from him daily more and more, eſpecially when they ſaw, that after his Marriage, and after a Sonne borne, the King did neuertheleſſe not ſo much as proceed to the *Coronation* of the *Queene*, not vouchſafing her the honour of a *Matrimoniall Crowne*; for the *Coronation* of her was not till almoſt two yeares after, when Danger had taught him what to doe. But much more, when it was ſpread abroad (whether by *Errour*, or the cunning of *Male-Contents*) that the King had a purpoſe to put to death EDWARD PLANTAGENET cloſely in the *Tower*: Whoſe caſe was ſo neerly paralleld with that of EDWARD the Fourths Children, in reſpect of the Bloud, like Age, and the very place of the *Tower*, as it did refreſh and reflect vpon the King a moſt odious reſemblance, as if hee would bee another King RICHARD. And all this time it was ſtill whiſpered euery where, that at leaſt one of the Children of ED-

WARD the Fourth was liuing. Which Bruit was cunningly fomented by ſuch as deſired *Innouation*. Neither was the Kings nature and cuſtomes greatly fit to diſperſe theſe *Miſts* ; but contrariwiſe hee had a faſhion rather to create Doubts, then Aſſurance. Thus was *Fuell* prepared for the *Sparke* : the *Sparke* that afterwards kindled ſuch a fire, and combuſtion, was at the firſt contemptible.

There was a ſubtill *Prieſt* called RICHARD SIMON, that liued in *Oxford*, and had to his Pupill a *Bakers* ſonne named LAMBERT SIMNELL, of the age of ſome fifteene yeares ; a comely Youth, and well fauoured, not without ſome extraordinarie dignitie and grace of aſpect. It came into this *Prieſts* fancie (hearing what men talked, and in hope to raiſe himſelfe to ſome great *Biſhopricke*) to cauſe this *Lad* to counterfeit and perſonate the ſecond ſonne of EDWARD the Fourth, ſuppoſed to be murdered ; and afterward (for he changed his intention in the manage) the Lord EDWARD PLANTAGENET then priſoner in the *Tower*, and accordingly to frame him and inſtruct him in the *Part* hee was to play. This is that which (as was touched before) ſeemeth ſcarcely credible ; Not that a *Falſe perſon* ſhould be aſſumed to gaine a *Kingdome*, for it hath beene ſeene in ancient and late times ; nor that it ſhould come into the mind of ſuch an abiect Fellow, to enterpriſe ſo great a matter ; for high Conceits doe ſometimes come ſtreaming into the Imaginations of baſe perſons, eſpecially when they are drunke with *Newes*, and *talke* of the people. But heere is that which hath no apparance ; That this *Prieſt* being vtterly vnacquainted with the true *Perſon*, according to whoſe patterne hee ſhould ſhape his *Counterfeit*, ſhould thinke it poſſible for him to inſtruct his *Player*, either in geſture and faſhions, or in recounting paſt matters of his life and edu-

education; or in fit anſwers to queſtions, or the like, any wayes to come neare the reſemblance of him whom hee was to repreſent. For this *Lad* was not to perſonate one, that had beene long before taken out of his Cradle, or conueighed away in his infancie, knowne to few; but a *Youth* that till the age almoſt of ten yeares had beene brought vp in a *Court* where infinite eyes had beene vpon him. For King EDWARD touched with remorſe of his brother the *Duke* of *Clarences* death, would not indeed reſtore his ſonne, (of whom wee ſpeake) to bee *Duke* of *Clarence*, but yet created him *Earle* of *Warwicke*, reuiuing his honour on the mothers ſide, and vſed him honourably during his time, though RICHARD the Third afterwards confined him. So that it cannot bee, but that ſome great *Perſon*, that knew particularly, and familiarly EDWARD PLANTAGENET, had a hand in the buſineſſe, from whom the *Prieſt* might take his ayme. That which is moſt probable, out of the precedent and ſubſequent Acts, is, that it was the *Queene Dowager*, from whom this action had the principall ſource and motion. For certaine it is, ſhee was a buſie negotiating woman, and in her *withdrawing-Chamber* had the fortunate *Conſpiracie* for the King againſt King RICHARD the Third, beene hatched; which the King knew, and remembred perhaps but too well; and was at this time extremely diſcontent with the King, thinking her daughter (as the King handled the matter) not aduanced, but depreſſed: and none could hold the *Booke* ſo well to prompt and inſtruct this *Stage-Play*, as ſhe could. Neuertheleſſe it was not her meaning, nor no more was it the meaning of any of the better and ſager ſort that fauoured this Enterpriſe and knew the Secret, that this diſguiſed *Idoll* ſhould poſſeſſe the *Crowne*; but at his perill to make way to the Quer-

throw

throw of the King: and that done, they had their ſeuerall *Hopes* and *Waies*. That which doth chiefly fortifie this Coniecture, is, that as ſoone as the matter brake forth in any ſtrength, it was one of the Kings firſt Acts to cloiſter the *Queene Dowager* in the *Nunnery* of *Bermondſey*, and to take away all her lands and eſtate; and this by cloſe *Councell* without any legall proceeding, vpon farre-fetcht Pretences; *That ſhee had deliuered her two daughters out of Sanctuarie to King* RICHARD *contrarie to promiſe*. Which Proceeding being euen at that time taxed for rigorous and vndue, both in matter and maner; makes it very probable there was ſome greater matter againſt her, which the King vpon reaſon of *Policie*, and to auoid enuy would not publiſh. It is likewiſe no ſmall argument that there was ſome ſecret in it, and ſome ſuppreſſing of Examinations; for that the *Prieſt* SIMON himſelfe, after hee was taken was neuer brought to execution; no not ſo much as to publike *Triall* (as many *Clergiemen* were vpon leſſe Treaſons) but was only ſhut vp cloſe in a *Dungeon*. Adde to this that the after Earle of *Lincolne* (a principall Perſon of the Houſe of YORKE) was ſlaine in *Stoke-field*, the King opened himſelfe to ſome of his *Councell*, that he was ſorie for the *Earles* death, becauſe by him (hee ſaid) hee might haue knowne the bottome of his danger.

But to returne to the *Narration* it ſelfe; SIMON did firſt inſtruct his *Scholler* for the part of RICHARD *Duke of Yorke*, ſecond ſonne to King EDWARD the Fourth, and this was at ſuch time as it was voiced that the King purpoſed to put to death EDWARD PLANTAGENET priſoner in the Tower, whereat there was great murmur. But hearing ſoone after a generall bruit that PLANTAGENET had eſcaped out of the Tower, and thereby finding him ſo much beloued amongſt the people, and ſuch reioycing at

his

his Eſcape, the cunning *Prieſt* changed his Copie, and choſe now PLANTAGENET to bee the Subiect his *Pupill* ſhould perſonate, becauſe hee was more in the preſent ſpeech, and votes of the people; and it pieced better, and followed more cloſe and handſomley vpon the bruit of PLANTAGENETS eſcape. But yet doubting that there would bee too neare looking and too much *Perſpectiue* into his Diſguiſe, if hee ſhould ſhew it here in *England*; hee thought good (after the manner of *Scenes* in *Stage-Playes* and *Maskes*) to ſhew it a farre of; and therfore ſailed with his Scholler into *Ireland*, where the Affection to the Houſe of YORKE was moſt in height. The King had beene a little improuident in the matters of *Ireland*, and had not remoued *Officers* and *Councellors*, and put in their places, or at leaſt intermingled perſons, of whom hee ſtood aſſured, as he ſhould haue done, ſince hee knew the ſtrong Bent of that Countrey towards the Houſe of YORKE; and that it was a tickliſh and vnſetled State, more eaſie to receiue diſtempers and mutations, then *England* was. But truſting to the reputation of his Victories and Succeſſes in *England*, hee thought hee ſhould haue time enough to extend his Cares afterwards to that ſecond Kingdome.

Wherefore through this neglect, vpon the comming of SIMON with his pretended PLANTAGENET into *Ireland*, all things were prepared for Reuolt and Sedition, almoſt as if they had beene ſet and plotted before hand. SIMONS firſt addreſſe was to the *Lord* THOMAS FITZ-GERARD, *Earle* of *Kildare*, and Deputie of *Ireland*: before whoſe Eyes hee did caſt ſuch a Miſt (by his owne inſinuation, and by the carriage of his Youth, that expreſſed a naturall Princely behauiour) as ioyned perhaps with ſome inward Vapours of Ambition and Affection in the *Earles* owne minde, left him fully

fully poſſeſſed, that it was the true PLANTAGENET. The *Earle* preſently communicated the matter with ſome of the *Nobles* and others there, at the firſt ſecretly. But finding them of like affection to himſelfe, hee ſuffered it of purpoſe to vent and paſſe abroad; becauſe they thought it not ſafe to reſolue, till they had a taſte of the *Peoples* inclination. But if the *Great* ones were in forwardneſſe, the *People* were in furie, entertayning this *Airie bodie* or *Phantaſme* with incredible affection; partly out of their great deuotion to the Houſe of YORKE; partly out of a proud humour in the Nation, to giue a *King* to the Realme of *England*. Neither did the *Partie* in this heat of affection much trouble themſelues with the Attaindor of GEORGE *Duke* of *Clarence*; hauing newly learned by the Kings example, that *Attaindors* doe not interrupt the conueighing of *Title* to the Crowne. And as for the daughters of King EDWARD the Fourth, they thought King RICHARD had ſaid enough for them: and tooke them to bee but as of the Kings *Partie*, becauſe they were in his power and at his diſpoſing. So that with maruellous conſent and applauſe, this Counterfeit PLANTAGENET was brought with great ſolemnitie to the Caſtle of *Dublin*, and there ſaluted, ſerued, and honoured as King; the *Boy* becoming it well, and doing nothing that did bewray the baſeneſſe of his condition. And within a few dayes after hee was proclaimed King in *Dublin*, by the name of King EDWARD the Sixt; there beeing not a ſword drawne in King HENRY his quarrell.

The King was much moued with this vnexpected accident, when it came to his eares, both becauſe it ſtrooke vpon that *String* which euer he moſt feared, as alſo becauſe it was ſtirred in ſuch a *Place*, where hee could not with ſafetie transferre his owne perſon, to

ſuppreſſe

ſuppreſſe it. For partly through naturall valour, and partly through an vniuerſall ſuſpition (not knowing whom to truſt) he was euer readie to wait vpon all his atchieuements in perſon. The King therefore firſt called his *Councell* together at the *Charter-houſe* at *Shine*. Which *Councell* was held with great ſecrecie, but the open *Decrees* thereof, which preſently came abroad, were three.

The firſt was, that the Queene *Dowager*, for that ſhe, contrarie to her *Pact*, and *Agreement* with thoſe that had concluded with her concerning the *Mariage* of her daughter ELIZABETH with King HENRY, had neuertheleſſe deliuered her daughters out of *Sanctuarie* into King RICHARDs hands; ſhould be cloiſtered in the Nunnerie of *Bermondſey*, and forfeit all her lands and goods.

The next was, that EDWARD PLANTAGENET then Cloſe-priſoner in the *Tower*, ſhould be in the moſt publike and notorious manner, that could be deuiſed, ſhewed vnto the people: In part to diſcharge the King of the Enuie of that opinion and bruit, how he had beene put to death priuily in the *Tower*; But chiefly to make the people ſee the leuitie and impoſture of the proceedings of *Ireland*, and that their PLANTAGENET was indeed but a puppit, or a *Counterfeit*.

The third was, that there ſhould be againe proclaimed a *Generall-Pardon* to all that would reueale their offences, and ſubmit themſelues by a day. And that this *Pardon* ſhould be conceiued in ſo ample and liberall a manner, as no *High-Treaſon* (no not againſt the Kings owne perſon) ſhould be excepted. Which though it might ſeeme ſtrange, yet was it not ſo to a wiſe King, that knew his greateſt dangers were not from the leaſt *Treaſons*, but from the greateſt. Theſe reſolutions of the King and his *Councell* were immediatly

diatly put in execution. And firſt, the Queene *Dowager* was put into the Monaſterie of *Bermondſey*, and all her eſtate ſeized into the Kings hands, whereat there was much wondering; That a weake woman, for the yeelding to the menaces and promiſes of a *Tyrant*, after ſuch a diſtance of time (wherein the King had ſhewed no diſpleaſure nor alteration) but much more after ſo happie a mariage, betweene the *King* and her *Daughter*, bleſſed with *Iſſue-male*, ſhould vpon a ſodaine mutabilitie or diſclolure of the Kings mind be ſo ſeuerely handled.

This *Lady* was amongſt the examples of great varietie of *Fortune*. Shee had firſt from a diſtreſſed *Suitor*, and deſolate *Widdow*, beene taken to the *Mariage-Bed* of a *Batchellour-King*, the goodlieſt perſonage of his time; and euen in his reigne ſhe had endured a ſtrange *Eclipſe* by the Kings flight, and temporarie depriuing from the Crowne. Shee was alſo very happie, in that ſhe had by him faire *Iſſue*, and continued his Nuptiall loue (helping her ſelfe by ſome obſequious bearing and diſſembling of his pleaſures) to the very end. Shee was much affectionate to her owne Kindred, euen vnto *Faction*; which did ſtirre great Enuie in the *Lords* of the Kings ſide, who counted her Bloud a diſparagement to be mingled with the Kings. With which *Lords* of the Kings bloud, ioyned alſo the Kings *Fauorite* the Lord HASTINGS; who, notwithſtanding the Kings great affection to him, was thought at times, through her malice and Splene, not to be out of danger of falling. After her husbands death, ſhe was matter of *Tragedie*, hauing liued to ſee her *Brother* beheaded, and her two *Sonnes* depoſed from the Crowne, Baſtarded in their bloud, and cruelly murthered. All this while neuertheleſſe ſhee inioyed her libertie, State, and Fortunes. But afterwards againe, vpon the *Riſe* of the

Wheele,

Wheele, when ſhe had a *King* to her *Sonne-in-Law*, and was made *Grand mother* to a *Grand-child* of the beſt Sexe; yet was ſhe (vpon darke and vnknowne Reaſons, and no leſſe ſtrange Pretences) precipitated, and baniſhed the World, into a *Nunnery*; where it was almoſt thought dangerous to viſit her, or ſee her; and where not long after ſhe ended her life: but was by the Kings Commandement buried with the King her husband at *Windſore*. Shee was *Foundreſſe* of *Queenes-College* in *Cambridge*. For this *Act* the King ſuſtained great obloquie, which neuertheleſſe (beſides the reaſon of State) was ſomwhat ſweetned to him by a great *Confiſcation*.

About this time alſo EDWARD PLANTAGENET was vpon a *Sonday* brought throughout all the principall Streets of *London*, to be ſeene of the people. And hauing paſſed the view of the Streets, was conducted to PAVLS *Church*, in ſolemne *Proceßion*, where great ſtore of people were aſſembled. And it was prouided alſo in good faſhion, that diuers of the *Nobilitie*, and others of Qualitie (eſpecially of thoſe that the King moſt ſuſpected, and knew the perſon of PLANTAGENET beſt) had communication with the young Gentleman by the way, and entertayned him with ſpeech and diſcourſe; which did in effect marre the *Pageant* in *Ireland* with the Subiects here, at leaſt with ſo many, as out of error, and not out of malice, might be miſ-led. Neuertheleſſe, in *Ireland* (where it was too late to goe backe) it wrought little or no effect. But contrariwiſe, they turned the *Impoſture* vpon the King, and gaue out, That the King, to defeat the true *Inheritor*, and to mocke the World, and blinde the eyes of ſimple men, had tricked vp a *Boy* in the likeneſſe of EDWARD PLANTAGENET, and ſhewed him to the people, not ſparing to prophane the *Ceremony* of a *Proceßion*, the more to countenance the *Fable*.

The *Generall-Pardon* likewiſe neere the ſame time came forth; and the King therewithall omitted no diligence, in giuing ſtraight order, for the keeping of the *Ports*; that *Fugitiues*, *Male-contents*, or ſuſpected *Perſons* might not paſſe ouer into *Ireland*, and *Flanders*.

Meane while the *Rebels* in *Ireland* had ſent priuie Meſſengers both into *England*, and into *Flanders*, who in both places had wrought effects of no ſmall importance. For in *England* they wonne to their Partie IOHN, Earle of *Lincolne*, ſonne of IOHN DE LA-POLE, Duke of *Suffolke*, and of ELIZABETH, King EDWARD the Fourths eldeſt ſiſter. This *Earle* was a man of great wit and courage, and had his thoughts highly rayſed by Hopes and Expectations for a time. For RICHARD the third had a Reſolution, out of his hatred to both his Brethren, King EDWARD, and the Duke of *Clarence*, and their Lines, (hauing had his hand in both their blouds) to diſable their Iſſues vpon falſe and incompetent pretexts; the one, of *Attaindor*; the other, of *Illegitimation*: and to deſigne this *Gentleman* (in caſe himſelfe ſhould die without Children) for *Inheritor* of the *Crowne*. Neither was this vnknowne to the King, who had ſecretly an Eye vpon him. But the King hauing taſted of the Enuie of the people, for his impriſonment of EDWARD PLANTAGENET, was doubtfull to heape vp any more diſtaſts of that kind, by the impriſonment of DE LA-POLE alſo; the rather thinking it Policie to conſerue him as a *Corriuall* vnto the other. The *Earle* of *Lincolne* was induced to participate with the Action of *Ireland*, not lightly vpon the ſtrength of the *Proceedings* there, which was but a *Bubble*, but vpon Letters from the Lady MARGARET of *Burgundie*, in whoſe ſuccours and declaration for the *Enterpriſe*, there ſeemed to be a more ſolid foundation, both for Reputation

tation and Forces. Neither did the *Earle* refraine the Buſineſſe, for that he knew the pretended PLANTAGENET to be but an *Idoll*. But contrariwiſe, hee was more glad it ſhould be the falſe PLANTAGENET then the true: becauſe the Falſe being ſure to fall away of himſelfe, and the True to be made ſure of by the King; it might open and paue a faire and prepared way to his owne *Title*. With this Reſolution hee ſayled ſecretly into *Flanders*; where was a little before arriued the Lord LOVEL, leauing a correſpondence here in *England* with Sir THOMAS BROVGHTON, a man of great Power and Dependencies in *Lancaſhire*. For before this time, when the pretended PLANTAGENET was firſt receiued in *Ireland*, ſecret Meſſengers had beene alſo ſent to the Lady MARGARET, aduertiſing her what was paſſed in *Ireland*, imploring Succoures in an Enterpriſe (as they ſaid) ſo pious and iuſt, and that God had ſo miraculouſly proſpered the beginning therof; and making offer, that all things ſhould be guided by her will and direction, as the *Soueraigne Patroneſſe* and *Protectreſſe* of the Enterpriſe. MARGARET was ſecond ſiſter to King EDWARD the Fourth, and had beene ſecond Wife to CHARLES, ſurnamed the HARDY, Duke of *Burgundie*; by whome, hauing no Children of her owne, ſhe did with ſingular care and tenderneſſe intend the Education of PHILIP and MARGARET, Grand-children to her former Husband; which wonne her great loue and authority among the *Dutch*. This *Princeſſe* (hauing the *Spirit* of a Man, and *Malice* of a woman) abounding in *Treaſure*, by the greatneſſe of her *Dower*, and her prouident Gouernment, and being childleſſe, and without any neerer Care, made it her *Deſigne* and Enterpriſe, to ſee the *Maieſtie Royall* of *England* once againe re-placed in her Houſe, and had ſet vp King HENRY as a Marke, at whoſe ouer-

ouerthrow all her actions ſhould ayme and ſhoote; inſomuch as all the *Counſells* of his ſucceeding troubles came chiefly out of that *Quiuer*. And ſhee bare ſuch a mortall hatred to the Houſe of LANCASTER, and perſonally to the *King*, as ſhe was no wayes mollified by the *Coniunction* of the Houſes in her *Neeces* marriage, but rather hated her *Neece*, as the meanes of the Kings aſcent to the *Crowne*, and aſſurance therein. Wherefore with great violence of affection ſhe embraced this Ouerture. And vpon Counſaile taken with the *Earle* of *Lincolne*, and the Lord LOVEL, and ſome other of the *Partie*, it was reſolued with all ſpeed, the two *Lords* aſſiſted with a Regiment of two thouſand *Almaines*, being choice and Veterane *Bands*, vnder the command of MARTIN SWART (a valiant and experimented *Captaine*) ſhould paſſe ouer into *Ireland* to the new *King*. Hoping, that when the *Action* ſhould haue the face of a receiued and ſetled *Regalitie* (with ſuch a ſecond Perſon, as the *Earle* of *Lincolne*, and the *Coniunction* and reputation of forraine ſuccours) the fame of it would imbolden and prepare all the *Partie* of the *Confederates* and *Malecontents* within the Realme of *England*, to giue them aſſiſtance, when they ſhould come ouer there. And for the *Perſon* of the *Counterfeit*, it was agreed, that if all things ſucceeded well, he ſhould be put downe, and the true PLANTAGENET receiued: Wherin neuertheleſſe the *Earle* of *Lincolne* had his particular hopes. After they were come into *Ireland*, and that the *Partie* tooke courage, by ſeeing themſelues together in a Bodie, they grew very confident of ſucceſſe, conceiuing and diſcourſing amongſt themſelues, that they went in vpon farre better *Cards* to ouerthrow King HENRY, then King HENRY had to ouerthrow King RICHARD. And that if there were not a Sword drawne againſt them in *Ireland*, it

was a *Signe* the Swords in *England* would be ſoone ſheathed, or beaten downe. And firſt, for a *Brauery* vpon this acceſſion of power, they crowned their new *King* in the *Cathedrall Church* of *Dublin*; who formerly had beene but proclaimed onely; and then ſate in *Councell* what ſhould further be done. At which *Councell* though it were propounded by ſome, that it were the beſt way to eſtabliſh themſelues firſt in *Ireland*, and to make that the Seat of the Warre, and to draw King HENRY thither in perſon, by whoſe abſence, they thought there would be great alterations and commotions in *England*; yet becauſe the *Kingdome* there was poore, and they ſhould not be able to keepe their *Armie* together, nor pay their *Germane* Soldiers, and for that alſo the ſway of the *Iriſh-men* and generally of the Men-of-warre, which (as in ſuch caſes of Popular tumults is vſuall) did in effect gouerne their Leaders, was eager, and in affection to make their fortunes vpon *England*; It was concluded with all poſſible ſpeed to tranſport their forces into *England*. The King in the meane time, who at the firſt when he heard what was done in *Ireland*, though it troubled him, yet thought hee ſhould bee well enough able to ſcatter the *Iriſh* as a *Flight* of *Birds*, and rattle away this *Swarme* of Bees, with their *King*; when hee heard afterwards that the Earle of *Lincolne* was embarqued in the action, and that the Lady MARGARET was declared for it, he apprehended the danger in a true Degree as it was, and ſaw plainly that his Kingdome muſt againe be put to the *Stake*, and that he muſt fight for it. And firſt, he did conceiue, before he vnderſtood of the Earle of *Lincolnes* ſayling into *Ireland* out of *Flanders*, that he ſhould be aſſailed both vpon the *Eaſt-parts* of the Kingdome of *England* by ſome impreſſion from *Flanders*, and vpon the *North-weſt* out of *Ireland*. And therefore hauing

hauing ordered Muſters to be made in both *Parts*, and hauing prouiſionally deſigned two *Generals*, IASPER Earle of *Bedford*, and IOHN Earle of *Oxford*, (meaning himſelfe alſo to goe in perſon, where the Affaires ſhould moſt require it) and neuertheleſſe not expecting any actuall *Inuaſion* at that time (the Winter being farre on) he tooke his iourney himſelfe towards *Suffolke* and *Northfolke*, for the confirming of thoſe parts. And being come to S. *Edmonds-bury*, hee vnderſtood, that THOMAS, Marqueſſe *Dorſet* (who had beene one of the *Pledges* in *France*) was haſting towards him, to purge himſelfe of ſome Accuſations which had beene made againſt him. But the King, though hee kept an Eare for him, yet was the time ſo doubtfull, that hee ſent the *Earle* of *Oxford* to meet him, and forthwith to carry him to the *Tower*; with a faire Meſſage neuertheleſſe, that hee ſhould beare that diſgrace with patience, for that the King meant not his hurt, but onely to preſerue him from doing hurt, either to the Kings ſeruice, or to himſelfe; and that the King ſhould alwayes be able (when hee had cleared himſelfe) to make him reparation.

From S. *Edmonds-bury* he went to *Norwich*, where he kept his *Chriſtmas*. And from thence he went (in a manner of *Pilgrimage*) to *Walſingham*, where hee viſited our *Ladies Church*, famous for *miracles*, and made his Prayers and Vowes for helpe and deliuerance. And from thence he returned by *Cambridge* to *London*. Not long after, the *Rebels*, with their King (vnder the Leading of the Earle of *Lincolne*, the Earle of *Kildare*, the Lord LOVEL, and Colonell SWART) landed at *Fouldrey* in *Lancaſhire*, whither there repaired to them, Sir THOMAS BROVGHTON, with ſome ſmall companie of *Engliſh*. The King by that time (knowing now the Storme would not diuide, but fall in one place) had leuied *Forces* in good num-

number; And in perſon (taking with him his two deſigned *Generals*, the Duke of *Bedford*, and the Earle of *Oxford*) was come on his way towards them as farre as *Couentry*, whence he ſent forth a troupe of *Light-Horſemen* for diſcouerie, and to intercept ſome ſtraglers of the Enemies, by whom he might the better vnderſtand the particulars of their Progreſſe and purpoſes, which was accordingly done; though the King otherwiſe was not without intelligence from *Eſpials* in the *Campe*.

The *Rebels* tooke their way towards *Yorke*, without ſpoyling the *Countrie*, or any act of Hoſtilitie, the better to put themſelues into fauour of the people, and to perſonate their *King*: who (no doubt, out of a princely feeling) was ſparing, and compaſſionate towards his Subiects. But their *Snowball* did not gather as it went. For the people came not in to them: Neither did any riſe or declare themſelues in other parts of the Kingdome for them, which was cauſed partly by the good taſte that the King had giuen his People of his *Gouernement*, ioyned with the reputation of his *Felicitie*; and partly for that it was an odious thing to the people of *England*, to haue a King brought in to them vpon the ſhoulders of *Iriſh* and *Dutch*, of which their Armie was in ſubſtance compounded. Neither was it a thing done with any great iudgement on the *Party* of the *Rebels*, for them to take their way towards *Yorke*: Conſidering that howſoeuer thoſe parts had formerly beene a *Nurſerie* of their friends; yet it was there, where the Lord LOVEL had ſo lately disbanded, and where the Kings preſence had a little before qualified diſcontents. The *Earle* of *Lincolne* deceiued of his hopes of the Countries concourſe vnto him (in which caſe he would haue temporized) and ſeeing the buſineſſe paſt Retract, reſolued to make on where the King was;

a Snowball doe gather

and to giue him battaile; and therupon, marched towards *Newarke*, thinking to haue ſurprized the Towne. But the King was ſomewhat before this time come to *Nottingham*, where he called a *Councell* of Warre, at which was conſulted, whether it were beſt to protract time, or ſpeedily to ſet vpon the *Rebels*. In which *Councell* the King himſelfe (whoſe continuall vigilancie did ſucke in ſometimes cauſeleſſe ſuſpitions, which few elſe knew) inclined to the accelerating a *Battaile*. But this was preſently put out of doubt, by the great aides that came in to him in the inſtant of this Conſultation, partly vpon *Miſſiues*, and partly *Voluntaries* from many parts of the Kingdome.

The principall perſons that came then to the Kings aide, were the *Earle* of *Shrewesburie*, and the Lord STRANGE, of the *Nobilitie:* and of *Knights* and *Gentlemen* to the number of at leaſt threeſcore and tenne perſons, with their Companies, making in the whole, at the leaſt ſix thouſand fighting men, beſides the *Forces* that were with the King before. Wherupon the King, finding his Armie ſo brauely re-enforced, and a great alacritie in all his men to fight, was confirmed in his former reſolution, and marched ſpeedily, ſo as hee put himſelfe betweene the Enemies *Campe* and *Newarke*; being loth their Armie ſhould get the commoditie of that Towne. The *Earle* nothing diſmayed, came forwards that day vnto a little Village called *Stoke*, and there encamped that night, vpon the Brow or hanging of a hill. The King the next day preſented him Battaile vpon the *Plaine*, the fields there being open and champion. The *Earle* couragiouſly came downe and ioyned Battaile with him. Concerning which *Battaile*, the relations that are left vnto vs are ſo naked, and negligent (though it be an action of ſo

recent

recent memorie) as they rather declare the *Succeſſe* of the day, then the *Manner* of the fight. They ſay, that the King diuided his Armie into three *Battailes*; whereof the *vant-guard* onely well ſtrengthened with wings, came to fight. That the *Fight* was fierce and obſtinate, and laſted three houres, before the victorie inclined either way; ſaue that Iudgement might be made, by that the Kings *Vant-guard* of it ſelfe maintained fight againſt the whole *Power* of the Enemies, (the other two *Battailes* remaining out of action) what the ſucceſſe was like to bee in the end. That MARTIN SWART with his *Germanes* performed brauely; and ſo did thoſe few *Engliſh* that were on that ſide, neither did the *Iriſh* faile in courage or fierceneſſe, but being almoſt naked men, only armed with *Darts* and *Skeines*, it was rather an *Execution*, then a *fight* vpon them; inſomuch as the furious ſlaughter of them was a great diſcouragement and appalement to the reſt; That there died vpon the place all the *Chiefetaines*; That is, the *Earle* of *Lincolne*, the *Earle* of *Kildare*, FRANCIS Lord LOVEL, MARTIN SWART, and Sir THOMAS BROVGHTON; all making good the fight without any ground giuen. Onely of the Lord LOVEL there went a report, that he fled and ſwam ouer *Trent* on horſebacke, but could not recouer the further ſide, by reaſon of the ſteepneſſe of the Banke, and ſo was drowned in the *Riuer*. But another *Report* leaues him not there, but that he liued long after in a Caue or Vault. The number that was ſlaine in the field, was of the *Enemies* part, foure thouſand at the leaſt; and of the *Kings* part, one halfe of his *Vant-guard*, beſides many hurt, but none of name. There were taken priſoners amongſt others, the *Counterfet* PLANTAGENET (now, LAMBERT SIMNELL againe) and the craftie *Prieſt* his *Tutor*. For LAMBERT, the King

would not take his life, both out of Magnanimitie, taking him but as an *Image* of *Wax*, that others had tempered and moulded; and likewise out of wisdome, thinking that if he suffered death, he would be forgotten too soone; but being kept aliue, he would be a continuall *Spectacle*, and a kind of remedie against the like *Inchantments* of *People*, in time to come. For which cause hee was taken into seruice in his *Court* to a base office in his *Kitchin*; so that (in a kind of *Mattacina* of humane fortune) Hee turned a *Broach*, that had worne a *Crowne*. Whereas Fortune commonly doth not bring in a *Comedie* or *Farce* after a *Tragedy*. And afterwards hee was preferred to be one of the Kings *Falconers*. As to the *Priest*, he was committed *Close prisoner*, and heard of no more; the King louing to seale vp his owne dangers.

After the *Battaile*, the King went to *Lincolne*, where he caused *Supplications* and *Thanksgiuings* to be made for his Deliuerance and Victorie. And that his Deuotions might goe round in *Circle*, he sent his *Banner* to bee offered to our Ladie of *Walsingham*, where before he made his *Vows*. And thus deliuered of this so strange an *Engine* & new *Inuention* of Fortune, he returned to his former confidence of minde, thinking now, that all his misfortunes had come at once. But it fell out vnto him according to the *Speech* of the *Common people* in the beginning of his reigne, that said; *It was a token he should reigne in labour, because his reigne began with a sickneſſe of Sweat*. But howsoeuer the King thought himselfe now in a *Hauen*, yet such was his wisdome, as his *Confidence* did seldome darken his *Fore-sight*, especially in things neare hand. And therefore awakened by so fresh, and vnexpected dangers, hee entred into due consideration, aswell how to weed out the *Partakers* of the former *Rebellion*, as to kill the *Seeds* of the like in time to come:

and

and withall to take away all *Shelters* and *Harbours* for diſcontented *Perſons*, where they might hatch and foſter *Rebellions*, which afterwards might gather ſtrength and motion. And firſt, he did yet againe make a *Progreſſe* from *Lincolne* to the *Northerne Parts*, though it were indeed rather an *Itinerarie Circuit* of *Iuſtice*, then a *Progreſſe*. For all along as he went, with much ſeueritie and ſtrict inquiſition, partly by *Martiall Law*, and partly by *Commiſſion*, were puniſhed, the *Adherents*, and *Ayders* of the late *Rebels*. Not all by death, (for the Field had drawne much bloud) but by *Fines* and *Ranſomes* which ſpared *Life*, and raiſed *Treaſure*. Amongſt other Crimes of this nature, there was diligent Inquirie made of ſuch as had raiſed and diſperſed a bruit and rumour, a little before the Field fought, *That the Rebels had the day; and that the Kings Armie was ouerthrowne, and the King fled.* Whereby it was ſuppoſed that many Succours, which otherwiſe would haue come vnto the King, were cunningly put off, and kept backe. Which *Charge* and *Accuſation*, though it had ſome ground, yet it was induſtriouſly embraced and put on by diuers, who hauing beene in themſelues not the beſt affected to the Kings part, nor forward to come to his aid, were glad to apprehend this colour, to couer their neglect and coldneſſe, vnder the pretence of ſuch diſcouragements. Which cunning neuertheleſſe, the King would not vnderſtand, though he lodged it, and noted it in ſome particulars, as his manner was.

But for the extirpating of the Roots and cauſes of the like *Commotions* in time to come, the King began to find where his Shooe did wring him, and that it was his depreſſing of the *Houſe* of YORKE, that did rancle and feſter the affections of his People. And therefore being now too wiſe to diſdaine perils any longer, and willing to giue ſome contentment in that

that kind (at least in *Ceremonie*) he resolued at last to proceed to the *Coronation* of his *Queene*. And therefore at his comming to *London*, where he entred in state, and in a kind of *Triumph*, and celebrated his *Victorie*, with two dayes of Deuotion, (for the first day he repaired to *Pauls*, and had the *Hymne* of *Te Deum* sung, and the morrow after he went in *Procession*, and heard the Sermon at the *Crosse*) the *Queene* was with great solemnitie crowned at *Westminster*, the fiue and twentieth of *Nouember*, in the third yeare of his reigne, which was about two yeares after the marriage; *Like an old Christning, that had stayed long for Godfathers.* Which strange and vnusuall distance of time, made it subiect to euery mans note, that it was an Act against his stomacke, and put vpon him by necessitie and reason of *State*. Soone after, to shew that it was now faire weather againe, and that the imprisonment of THOMAS *Marquesse Dorset*, was rather vpon suspicion of the Time, then of the man, hee the said *Marquesse* was set at libertie without examination, or other circumstance. At that time also the King sent an *Ambassadour* vnto *Pope* INNOCENT, signifying vnto him this his Marriage, and that now (like another ÆNEAS) he had passed through the flouds of his former troubles and trauailes, and was arriued vnto a safe *Hauen:* and thanking his *Holinesse*, that he had honoured the Celebration of his Marriage with the presence of his *Ambassadour:* and offering both his *Person* and the forces of his *Kingdome* vpon all occasions to doe him seruice.

The *Ambassadour* making his Oration to the *Pope*, in the presence of the *Cardinals*, did so magnifie the *King* and *Queene*, as was enough to glut the Hearers. But then he did againe so extoll and deifie the *Pope*, as made all that he had said in praise of his *Master* and

Mistresse

Miſtreſſe ſeeme temperate and paſſable. But hee was very honourably entertained, and extreamly much made on by the *Pope*. Who knowing himſelfe to bee Lazie and vnprofitable to the *Chriſtian-world*, was wonderfully glad to heare that there were ſuch *Ecchoes* of him ſounding in remote parts. Hee obtained alſo of the *Pope* a very iuſt and honorable *Bull*, qualifying the *Priuiledges* of *Sanctuarie* (wherewith the king had beene extreamely gauled) in three points.

The firſt, that if any *Sanctuarie man* did by night or otherwiſe, get out of *Sanctuarie* priuily, and commit miſchiefe and treſpaſſe, and then come in againe, hee ſhould loſe the benefit of *Sanctuarie* for euer after. The ſecond, that howſoeuer the *Perſon* of the *Sanctuarie-man* was protected from his *Creditors*, yet his Goods out of *Sanctuarie* ſhould not. The third, that if any tooke *Sanctuarie* for caſe of *Treaſon*, the King might appoint him *Keepers* to looke to him in *Sanctuarie*.

The King alſo for the better ſecuring of his eſtate, againſt mutinous and malecontented Subiects (whereof He ſaw the *Realme* was full) who might haue their refuge into *Scotland*, which was not vnder Key, as the *Ports* were; For that cauſe, rather then for any doubt of Hoſtilitie from thoſe parts, before his comming to *London* (when he was at *Newcaſtle*) had ſent a ſolemne Ambaſſage vnto IAMES the third, King of *Scotland*, to treate and conclude a peace with him. The *Ambaſſadors* were RICHARD FOXE Biſhop of *Exceſter*, and Sir RICHARD EDGCOMBE *Comptroller* of the Kings Houſe, who were honourably receiued and entertained there. But the King of *Scotland* labouring of the ſame diſeaſe that King HENRY did (though more mortall, as afterwards appeared) that is, *Diſcontented Subiects*, apt to riſe, and raiſe Tumult, although in

in his owne affection hee did much desire to make a Peace with the King; Yet finding his *Nobles* auerse, and not daring to displease them, concluded onely a *Truce* for seuen yeeres; giuing neuertheless promise in priuate, that it should bee renewed from time to time, during the two Kings liues.

HItherto the King had beene exercised in setling his affaires at home. But about this time brake forth an occasion that drew him to looke abroad, and to hearken to forraine businesse. CHARLES the eight the French King, by the vertue and good fortune of his two immediate Predecessors, CHARLES the seuenth his *Grand-father*, and LEWES the eleuenth his Father, receiued the Kingdome of *France* in more flourishing and spread Estate, than it had beene of many yeares before; being redintegrate in those principall *Members*, which anciently had beene portions of the Crowne of *France*, and were after disseuered, so as they remained onely in *Homage*, and not in *Soueraigntie* (being gouerned by absolute Princes of their owne) *Angeou*, *Normandy*, *Prouence*, and *Burgundie*. There remained only *Brittaine* to be reunited, and so the *Monarchie* of *France* to be reduced to the ancient Termes and Bounds.

King CHARLES was not a little inflamed with an ambition to repurchase, and reannex that *Duchie*. Which his ambition was a wise and well weighed Ambition; not like vnto the ambitions of his succeeding enterprizes of *Italie*. For at that time being newly come to the *Crowne*, he was somewhat guided by his Fathers *Counsels* (*Counsels*, not *Counsellors*) for his Father was his owne *Counsell*, and had few able men about him. And that King (he knew well) had euer distasted the designes of *Italie*, and in particular had an eye vpon *Brittaine*. There were many circum-

ſtances that did feed the ambition of CHARLES, with pregnant and apparant hopes of *Succeſſe*. The *Duke* of *Britaine* old, and entred into a *Lethargie*, and ſerued with *Mercenarie Counſellors*, father of two only daughters, the one ſickly and not like to continue. King CHARLES himſelfe in the flower of his age, and the Subiects of *France* at that time well trayned for Warre, both for *Leaders* and *Souldiers*; men of ſeruice being not yet worne out, ſince the warres of LEWIS againſt *Burgundie*. Hee found himſelfe alſo in peace with all his *Neighbour-Princes*. As for thoſe that might oppoſe to his enterpriſe; MAXIMILIAN King of *Romans*, his *Riuall* in the ſame deſires, (as well for the *Duchy*, as the *Daughter*) feeble in meanes; and King HENRY of *England* aſwell ſomwhat obnoxious to him for his fauours and benefits, as buſied in his particular troubles at home. There was alſo a faire and ſpecious occaſion offered him to hide his ambition, and to iuſtifie his warring vpon *Britaine*, for that the *Duke* had receiued, and ſuccoured LEWIS Duke of *Orleance*, and other of the French *Nobilitie*, which had taken Armes againſt their King. Wherfore King CHARLES being reſolued vpon that Warre, knew well he could not receiue any oppoſition ſo potent, as if King HENRY ſhould either vpon *Policie* of *State*, in preuenting the growing greatneſſe of *France*: or vpon gratitude vnto the *Duke* of *Britaine*, for his former fauours, in the time of his diſtreſſe, eſpouſe that quarrell, and declare himſelfe in aide of the *Duke*. Therfore hee no ſooner heard that King HENRY was ſetled by his victorie, but forthwith he ſent *Ambaſſadours* vnto him, to pray his aſſiſtance, or at the leaſt that hee would ſtand neutrall. Which *Ambaſſadours* found the King at *Leiceſter*, and deliuered their *Ambaſſage* to this effect. They firſt imparted vnto the King the ſucceſſe that

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meanes declined any mention thereof, but contrariwiſe interlaced in their conference with the King, the aſſured purpoſe of their *Maſter*, to match with the Daughter of MAXIMILIAN; And entertained the King alſo with ſome wandring Diſcourſes of their Kings purpoſe, to recouer by Armes his right to the Kingdome of *Naples*, by an expedition in Perſon; All to remoue the King from all iealouſie of any *Deſigne*, in theſe hither Parts vpon *Britaine*, otherwiſe then for quenching of the fire, which hee feared might bee kindled in his owne eſtate.

The *King* after aduice taken with his *Councell*, made anſwer to the *Ambaſſadors*. And firſt returned their *Complement*, ſhewing hee was right glad of the *French Kings* reception of thoſe Townes from MAXIMILIAN. Then hee familiarly related ſome particular paſſages of his owne aduentures and victorie paſſed. As to the buſineſſe of *Britaine*, the King anſwered in few words; That the *French* King and the Duke of *Britaine*, were the two perſons to whom hee was moſt obliged of all men; and that hee ſhould thinke himſelfe very vnhappie, if things ſhould goe ſo betweene them, as he ſhould not be able to acquite himſelfe in gratitude towards them both; and that there was no meanes for him as a *Chriſtian* King and a Common friend to them, to ſatisfie all obligations both to God and Man, but to offer himſelfe for a *Mediator* of an *Accord* and *Peace* betweene them; by which courſe he doubted not but their Kings eſtate and honour both, would be preſerued with more *Safetie* and leſſe *Enuie* then by a Warre, and that hee would ſpare no coſt or paines, no if it were *To goe on Pilgrimage*, for ſo good an effect; And concluded, that in this great *Affaire*, which he tooke ſo much to heart, hee would expreſſe himſelfe more fully by an *Ambaſſage*, which he would ſpeedily diſpatch vnto the *French* King for that purpoſe.

poſe. And in this ſort the French *Ambaſſadors* were diſmiſſed; The King auoiding to vnderſtand any thing touching the re-annexing of *Britaine*, as the *Ambaſſadors* had auoided to mention it; ſaue that hee gaue a little touch of it in the word, *Enuie*. And ſo it was, that the King was neither ſo ſhallow, nor ſo ill aduertiſed, as not to perceiue the intention of the *French*, for the inueſting himſelfe of *Britaine*. But firſt he was vtterly vnwilling (howſoeuer hee gaue out) to enter into Warre with *France*. A *Fame* of a Warre he liked well, but not an *Atchieuement*; for the one hee thought would make him *Richer*, and the other *Poorer*: and hee was poſſeſſed with many ſecret feares, touching his owne people, which hee was therfore loth to arme, and put weapons into their hands. Yet notwithſtanding (as a prudent and couragious *Prince*) he was not ſo auerſe from a Warre, but that he was reſolued to chooſe it, rather then to haue *Britaine* carried by *France*, being ſo great and opulent a *Duchy*, and ſituate ſo opportunely to annoy *England*, either for *Coaſt*, or *Trade*. But the Kings hopes were, that partly by negligence, commonly imputed to the *French* (eſpecially in the *Court* of a young King) and partly by the natiue power of *Britaine* it ſelfe, which was not ſmall; but chiefely in reſpect of the great *Partie*, that the *Duke* of *Orleance* had in the Kingdome of *France*, and therby meanes to ſtirre vp *Ciuill* troubles, to diuert the *French-king* from the enterpriſe of *Britaine*; And laſtly, in regard of the power of MAXIMILIAN, who was *Corriuall* to the *French* King in that *Purſuit*, the *Enterprize* would eyther bow to a pace, or breake in it ſelfe. In all which, the King meaſured and valued things amiſſe, as afterwards appeared. He ſent therefore forthwith to the *French* King, CHRISTOPHER VRSWICKE, his *Chaplaine*, a perſon by him much truſted and imployed: chooſing him the rather, becauſe

cauſe he was a *Church-man*, as beſt ſorting with an *Ambaſſie* of *Pacification*: and giuing him alſo a *Commiſſion*, That if the *French King* conſented to treat, hee ſhould thence repaire to the *Duke* of *Britaine*, and ripen the *Treatie* on both parts. VRSWICK made declaration to the *French King*, much to the purpoſe of the Kings anſwer to the *French Ambaſſadours* here; inſtilling alſo tenderly ſome ouerture of receiuing to grace the *Duke* of *Orleance*, and ſome taſte of Conditions of Accord. But the *French King* on the other ſide proceeded not ſincerely, but with a great deale of art and diſſimulation, in this *Treatie*; hauing for his end to gaine time, and ſo put off the *Engliſh-Succors*, vnder hope of *Peace*, till he had got good footing in *Britaine*, by force of *Armes*. Wherefore he anſwered the *Ambaſſadour*, That hee would put himſelfe into the Kings hands, and make him *Arbiter* of the Peace: and willingly conſented, that the *Ambaſſadour* ſhould ſtraightwayes paſſe into *Britaine*, to ſignifie this his conſent, and to know the *Dukes* minde likewiſe; well fore-ſeeing, that the *Duke* of *Orleance*, by whom the *Duke* of *Britaine* was wholly led, taking himſelfe to be vpon termes irreconcileable with him, would admit of no *Treatie* of Peace. Whereby hee ſhould in one, both generally abroad veyle ouer his Ambition, and winne the reputation of iuſt and moderate proceedings; and ſhould withall endeare himſelfe in the Affections of the *King* of *England*, as one, that had committed all to his Will: Nay, and (which was yet more fine) make Faith in him, That although he went on with the Warre, yet it ſhould be but with his *Sword* in his hand, to bend the ſtiffeneſſe of the other party to accept of Peace: and ſo the *King* ſhould take no vmbrage of his arming and proſecution; but the *Treatie* to be kept on foot, to the very laſt inſtant, till hee were *Maſter* of the *Field*.

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Which grounds being by the *French King* wisely laid, all things fell out as he expected. For when the *English Ambassadour* came to the Court of *Britaine*, the *Duke* was then scarcely perfect in his memorie, and all things were directed by the *Duke* of *Orleance*; who gaue audience to the *Chaplaine* VRSWICK, and vpon his *Ambassage* deliuered, made answer in somewhat high termes: That the *Duke* of *Britaine* hauing beene an *Host*, and a kind of *Parent* or *Foster-father* to the King, in his tendernesse of age, and weaknesse of fortune, did looke for at this time from King HENRY (the renowned King of *England*) rather braue *Troupes* for his Succours, then a vaine *Treatie* of Peace. And if the King could forget the good Offices of the *Duke* done vnto him aforetime; yet he knew well, he would in his wisdome consider of the future, how much it imported his owne safetie, and reputation, both in forraine parts, and with his owne people, not to suffer *Britaine* (the old *Confederates* of *England*) to be swallowed vp by *France*, and so many good *Ports*, and strong *Townes* vpon the *Coast*, be in the command of so potent a *Neighbour-King*, and so ancient an *Enemie*. And therefore humbly desired the King to thinke of this businesse as his owne; and therewith brake off, and denied any further conference for *Treatie*.

VRSWICK returned first to the *French King*, and related to him what had passed. Who finding things to sort to his desire, tooke hold of them, and said; That the *Ambassadour* might perceiue now, that which he for his part, partly imagined before. That considering in what hands the *Duke* of *Britaine* was, there would be no *Peace*, but by a mixt *Treatie* of force and perswasion. And therfore he would goe on with the one, and desired the *King* not to desist from the other. But for his owne part, he did faithfully promise, to bee still in the Kings power, to rule him

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him in the matter of Peace. This was accordingly represented vnto the *King* by VRSWICK at his returne, and in such a fashion, as if the *Treatie* were in no sort desperate, but rather stayed for a better houre, till the *Hammer* had wrought, and beat the *Partie* of *Britaine* more pliant. Whereupon there passed continually *Packets* and *Dispatches* betweene the two *Kings*, from the *One* out of *desire*, and from the other out of *dissimulation*, about the negotiation of Peace. The *French King* meane while inuaded *Britaine* with great forces, and distressed the Citie of *Nantes* with a strait siege, and (as one, who though hee had no great Iudgement, yet had that, that hee could dissemble home) the more he did vrge the prosecution of the *Warre*, the more he did at the same time, vrge the solicitation of the *Peace*. Insomuch as during the siege of *Nantes*, after many Letters and particular messages, the better to maintaine his dissimulation, and to refresh the *Treatie*; he sent BERNARD DAVBIGNEY (a person of good qualitie) to the King, earnestly to desire him, to make an end of the businesse howsoeuer.

The King was no lesse readie to reuiue and quicken the *Treatie*; And therupon sent three *Commissioners*, the *Abbot* of *Abington*, Sir RICHARD TVNSTAL, and CHAPLEINE VRSWICK formerly imployed, to doe their vtmost endeuours, to manage the *Treatie* roundly and strongly.

About this time the Lord WOODVILE, (Vncle to the *Queene*) a valiant gentleman, & desirous of honor, sued to the King, that he might raise some *Power* of *Voluntaries* vnder-hand, and without licence or passport (wherein the King might any wayes appeare) goe to the aide of the *Duke* of *Britaine*. The King denied his request, (or at least seemed so to doe) and layed strait commandement vpon him, that hee

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ſhould not ſtirre, for that the King thought his honour would ſuffer therein, during a *Treatie*, to better a *Partie*. Neuertheleſſe this *Lord* (either being vnruly, or out of conceipt that the King would not inwardly diſlike that, which he would not openly auow) ſailed ſecretly ouer into the Iſle of *Wight*, whereof hee was *Gouernour*, and leuied a faire *Troupe* of foure hundred men, and with them paſſed ouer into *Brittaine*, and ioyned himſelfe with the *Dukes* Forces. The Newes whereof when it came to the *French Court*, put diuers *Young Bloods* into ſuch a furie, as the *Engliſh Ambaſſadors* were not without perill to bee outraged. But the *French King* both to preſerue the Priuiledge of *Ambaſſadors*, and being conſcious to himſelfe that in the buſineſſe of Peace, hee himſelfe was the greater diſſembler of the two, forbade all iniuries of fact or word, againſt their perſons, or Followers. And preſently came an *Agent* from the King, to purge himſelfe touching the Lord WOODVILES going ouer, vſing for a principall argument, to demonſtrate that it was without his priuitie, for that the *Troupes* were ſo ſmall, as neither had the *Face* of a ſuccour by authoritie; nor could much aduance the *Brittaine* affaires. To which meſſage, although the *French King* gaue no full credit, yet he made faire weather with the King, and ſeemed ſatisfied. Soone after the *Engliſh Ambaſſadors* returned, hauing two of them beene likewiſe with the *Duke* of *Britaine*, and found things in no other termes, then they were before. Vpon their returne, they informed the King of the ſtate of the affaires, and how farre the *French King* was from any true meaning of Peace; and therefore he was now to aduiſe of ſome other courſe. Neither was the King himſelfe lead all this while with credulity meerely, as was generally ſuppoſed: But his Error was not ſo much facility of beleefe, as an ill meaſuring of the forces of the other *Partie*.

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For (as was partly touched before) the King had cast the businesse thus with himselfe. He tooke it for granted in his owne iudgement, that the Warre of *Britaine*, in respect of the strength of the *Townes*, and of the *Parte*, could not speedily come to a *Period*. For he conceiued that the Counsels of a Warre, that was vndertaken by the *French King*, then childlesse, against an *Heire-apparant* of *France*, would be very faint and slow. And besides, that it was not possible, but that the state of *France* should be imbroiled with some troubles and alterations in fauour of the *Duke of Orleance*. Hee conceiued likewise, that MAXIMILIAN, King of the *Romans*, was a Prince warlike and potent; who (he made account) would giue succours to the *Britaines* roundly. So then iudging it would be a worke of *Time*, hee laide his plot, how hee might best make vse of that *Time*, for his owne affaires. Wherein first hee thought to make his vantage vpon his *Parliament*; knowing that they being affectionate vnto the quarrell of *Britaine*, would giue treasure largely. Which treasure, as a noise of Warre might draw forth; so a peace succeeding might cofer vp. And because hee knew his people were hot vpon the businesse, hee chose rather to seeme to bee deceiued, and lulled asleepe by the *French*, then to be backward in himselfe; considering his *Subiects* were not so fully capable of the reasons of *State*, which made him hold backe. Wherefore to all these purposes hee saw no other expedient, then to set and keepe on foot a continuall *Treatie* of *Peace*; laying it downe, and taking it vp againe, as the occurrence required. Besides, he had in consideration the point of Honour in bearing the blessed person of a *Pacificator*. Hee thought likewise to make vse of the Enuie, that the *French King* met with, by occasion of this Warre of *Britaine*, in strengthening himselfe with new allian-

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ces ; as namely that of FERDINANDO of *Spaine*, with whom he had euer a conſent euen in nature and cuſtomes; and likewiſe with MAXIMILIAN, who was particularly intereſſed. So that in ſubſtance hee promiſed himſelfe Money, Honour, Friends, and Peace in the end. But thoſe things were too fine to be fortunate, and ſucceed in all parts ; for that great affaires are commonly too rough and ſtubborne to be wrought vpon by the finer edges, or points of wit. The King was likewiſe deceiued in his two main grounds. For although he had reaſon to conceiue, that the *Councel* of *France* wold be wary to put the King into a Warre againſt the *Heire-apparant* of *France*; yet hee did not conſider, that CHARLES was not guided by any of the principall of the *Bloud* or *Nobilitie*, but by meane Men, who would make it their *Maſter-peece* of Credit and fauour, to giue venturous Counſels, which no great or wiſe Man durſt, or would. And for MAXIMILIAN, he was thought then a *Greater-matter* then he was ; his vnſtable and neceſſitous Courſes being not then knowne.

After Conſultation with the *Ambaſſadors*, who brought him no other newes, then he expected before (though he would not ſeeme to know it till then) he preſently ſummoned his *Parliament*, and in open *Parliament* propounded the cauſe of *Britaine* to both *Houſes*, by his *Chancellor* MORTON *Arch-Biſhop* of *Canterburie*, who ſpake to this effect.

MY Lords and Maſters ; The Kings Grace our Soueraigne Lord, hath commanded me to declare vnto you the cauſes that haue moued him at this time to ſummon this his Parliament ; which I ſhall doe in few words,

craving pardon of his Grace, and you all, if I performe it not as I would.

His Grace doth first of all let you know, that he retaineth in thankefull memorie the loue and loyaltie shewed to him by you, at your last Meeting, in establishment of his royaltie; freeing and discharging of his partakers, and confiscation of his Traytors and Rebels: more then which could not come from Subiects to their Soueraigne, in one action. This he taketh so well at your hands, as he hath made it a Resolution to himselfe, to communicate with so louing and well approued Subiects, in all Affaires that are of publike nature, at home or abroad.

Two therefore are the causes of your present assembling: the one, a forraigne Businesse; the other, matter of gouernment at home.

The French King (*as no doubt yee haue heard*) *maketh at this present hot warre vpon the* Duke *of* Britaine. *His Armie is now before* Nantes, *and holdeth it straitly besieged being the principall Citie* (*if not in Ceremonie and Preheminence, yet in Strength and Wealth*) *of that* Duchie. *Yee may guesse at his Hopes, by his attempting of the hardest part of the Warre first. The cause of this Warre he knoweth best. Hee alleageth the entertaining and succouring of the* Duke *of* Orleance, *and*

some

ſome other French *Lords, whom the King taketh for his Enemies. Others diuine of other Matters. Both parts haue by their* Ambaſſadours *diuers times prayed the Kings Aids: The* French King *Aides, or Neutralitie; the* Britons *Aides ſimply; for ſo their caſe requireth. The King, as a Chriſtian Prince, and bleſſed Sonne of the Holy Church, hath offered himſelfe as a Mediator, to treat a Peace betweene them. The* French King *yeeldeth to treat, but will not ſtay the proſecution of the Warre. The* Britons, *that deſire Peace moſt, hearken to it leaſt; not vpon confidence or ſtiffeneſſe, but vpon diſtruſt of true meaning, ſeeing the Warre goes on. So as the King, after as much paines and care to effect a Peace, as euer he tooke in any Buſineſſe, not being able to remoue the Proſecution on the one ſide, nor the Diſtruſt on the other, cauſed by that Proſecution, hath let fall the* Treatie; *not repenting of it, but deſparing of it now, as not likely to ſucceed. Therefore by this Narratiue you now vnderſtand the ſtate of the Queſtion, whereupon the King prayeth your aduice: which is no other, but whether hee ſhall enter into an auxiliarie and defenſiue Warre for the* Britons *againſt* France.

And the better to open your vnderſtandings

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in this Affaire, the King hath commanded mee to say somewhat to you from him, of the Persons that doe interuene in this Busineſſe ; and somewhat of the Conſequence thereof, as it hath relation to this Kingdome ; and somewhat of the Example of it in generall: making neuertheleſſe no Concluſion or Iudgement of any Point, vntill his Grace hath receiued your faithfull and politique aduices.

Firſt, for the King our Soueraigne himſelfe, who is the principall Perſon you are to eye in this Buſineſſe ; his Grace doth profeſſe, that he truly and conſtantly deſireth to reigne in Peace. But his Grace ſaith, he will neither buy Peace with Diſhonour, nor take it vp at intereſt of Danger to enſue ; but ſhall thinke it a good Change, if it pleaſe God to change the inward Troubles and Seditions, wherewith he hath beene hitherto exerciſed, into an honourable Forraigne Warre. And for the other two Perſons in this Action, the French King, *and the* Duke *of* Britaine, *his Grace doth declare vnto you, that they be the Men, vnto whom he is of all other Friends and Allies moſt bounden: the one hauing held ouer him his hand of Protection from the Tyrant: the Other hauing reacht forth vnto him his hand of helpe, for the recouerie of his Kingdome. So that his affection toward them in his natu-*

rall

rall Person, is vpon equall tearmes. And whereas you may haue heard, that his Grace was enforced to flie out of Britaine into France, for doubts of being betrayed: his Grace would not in any sort haue that reflect vpon the Duke of Britaine, in defacement of his former benefits: for that hee is throughly informed, that it was but the practice of some corrupt Persons about him, during the time of his sickneſſe, altogether without his consent or priuitie.

But howsoeuer these things doe intereſſe his Grace in his particular, yet hee knoweth well, that the higher Bond that tieth him to procure by all meanes the safetie and welfare of his louing Subiects, doth dis-intereſſe him of these Obligations of Gratitude, otherwise then thus: that if his Grace be forced to make a Warre, he doe it without passion, or ambition.

For the consequence of this Action towards this Kingdome, it is much as the French Kings intention is. For if it be no more, but to range his Subiects to reason, who beare themselues stout vpon the strength of the Duke of Britaine, it is nothing to vs. But if it be in the French Kings purpose, or if it should not be in his purpose, yet if it shall follow all one, as if it were sought, that the French King shall make a Prouince of Britaine, and ioyne it to the

Crowne

Crowne of France: then it is worthy the consideration, how this may import England, as well in the increasement of the greatnesse of France, by the addition of such a Countrey, that stretcheth his Bougbes vnto our Seas, as in depriuing this Nation, and leauing it naked of so firme and assured Confederates, as the Britons haue alwayes beene. For then it will come to passe, that whereas not long since, this Realme was mightie vpon the Continent, first in Territorie, and after in Alliance, in respect of Burgundie and Britaine, which were Confederates indeed, but dependant Confederates: now the one being already cast, partly into the greatnes of France, and partly into that of Aultria, the other is like wholly to be cast into the greatnesse of France, and this Island shall remaine confined in effect within the salt Waters, and girt about with the Coast-Countries of two mightie Monarchs.

For the Example, it resteth likewise vpon the same Question, vpon the French Kings intent. For if Britaine be carried and swallowed vp by France, as the world abroad (apt to impute and construe the Actions of Princes to Ambition) conceiue it will; then it is an Example very dangerous and vniuersall, that the lesser Neighbour Estate should bee deuoured of the greater. For this may bee the case of Scotland towards

towards England ; *of* Portugal, *towards* Spaine ; *of the ſmaller Eſtates of* Italie, *towards the greater ; and ſo of* Germanie ; *or as if ſome of you of the Commons, might not liue and dwell ſafely, beſides ſome of theſe great Lords. And the bringing in of this Example, will be chiefely laid to the Kings charge, as to him that was moſt intereſſed and moſt able to forbid it. But then on the other ſide, there is ſo faire a Pretext on the* French Kings *Part (and yet Pretext is neuer wanting to Power) in regard the danger imminent to his owne Eſtate is ſuch, as may make this Enterpriſe ſeeme rather a Work of Neceſſitie, then of Ambition, as doth in reaſon correct the Danger of the Example. For that the Example of that which is done in a mans owne defence, cannot be dangerous ; becauſe it is in anothers power to auoid it. But in all this buſineſſe, the King remits himſelfe to your graue and mature aduice, whereupon he purpoſeth to relye.*

This was the effect of the Lord *Chancellors* Speech touching the Cauſe of *Britaine* : For the King had commanded him to carrie it ſo, as to affect the *Parliament* towards the Buſineſſe ; but without engaging the King in any expreſſe declaration.

The *Chancellor* went on :

FOr that which may concerne the Gouernement at home, the King hath commanded me to say vnto you; That he thinketh there was neuer any King (for the small time that hee hath reigned) had greater and iuster cause of the two contrarie Passions of Ioy, and Sorrow, then his Grace hath. Ioy, in respect of the rare and visible Fauours of Almightie God, in girting the Imperiall Sword vpon his side, and assisting the same his Sword against all his Enemies; and likewise in blessing him with so many good and louing Seruants and Subiects, which haue neuer fayled to giue him faithfull Counsell, readie Obedience, and courageous Defence. Sorrow, for that it hath not pleased God to suffer him to sheathe his Sword (as hee greatly desired otherwise then for Administration of Iustice) but that he hath beene forced to draw it so oft, to cut off Trayterous and disloyall Subiects, whom (it seemes) God hath left (a few amongst many good) as the Canaanites among the People of Israel, to be thornes in their sides, to tempt and trie them; though the end hath beene alwayes (Gods Name bee blessed therefore) that the destruction hath fallen vpon their owne heads.

Wherefore his Grace saith; That hee seeth, that it is not the Bloud spilt in the Field, that

will ſaue the Bloud in the Citie; nor the Marſhals Sword, that will ſet this Kingdome in perfect Peace: But that the true way is, to ſtop the Seeds of Sedition and Rebellion in their beginnings; and for that purpoſe to deuiſe, confirme, and quicken good and holeſome Lawes, againſt Riots, and vnlawfull Aſſemblies of People, and all Combinations and Confederacies of them, by Liueries, Tokens, and other Badges of factious Dependance; that the Peace of the Land may by theſe Ordinances, as by Barres of Iron, bee ſoundly bound in and ſtrengthned, and all Force both in Court, Countrey, and priuate Houſes, be ſuppreſt. The care hereof, which ſo much concerneth your ſelues, and which the nature of the Times doth inſtantly call for, his Grace commends to your Wiſdomes.

And becauſe it is the Kings deſire, that this Peace, wherein he hopeth to gouerne and maintaine you, doe not beare onely vnto you Leaues for you to ſit vnder the ſhade of them in ſafetie; but alſo ſhould beare you Fruit of Riches, Wealth and Plentie: Therfore his Grace prayes you, to take into conſideration matter of Trade, as alſo the Manufactures of the Kingdome, and to repreſſe the baſtard and barren Imployment of Moneyes, to Vſurie and vnlawfull Exchanges, that they may be (as their natu-

rall vſe is) turned vpon Commerce, and lawfull and Royall Trading. And likewiſe, that our People bee ſet on worke in Arts and Handy-crafts; that the Realme may ſubſiſt more of it ſelfe; that Idleneſſe be auoided, and the drayning out of our Treaſure, for forraine Manufactures, ſtopped. But you are not to reſt heere onely, but to prouide further, that whatſoeuer Merchandize ſhall bee brought in from beyond the Seas, may bee imployed vpon the Commodities of this Land; wherby the Kingdomes ſtocke of Treaſure may be ſure to bee kept from being diminiſhed, by any ouer-trading of the Forrainer.

And laſtly, becauſe the King is well aſſured, that you would not haue him poore, that wiſhes you rich; he doubteth not, but that you will haue care, as well to maintaine his Reuenues, of Cuſtomes, and all other Natures, as alſo to ſupply him with your louing Aides, if the caſe ſhall ſo require. The rather, for that you know the King is a good Husband, and but a Steward in effect for the Publike; and that what comes from you is but as Moiſture drawne from the Earth, which gathers into a Cloud, and fals back vpon the Earth againe. And you know well, how the Kingdomes about you grow more and more in Greatneſſe, and the Times

are

are ſtirring; and therefore not fit to finde the King with an emptie Purſe. More I haue not to ſay to you; and wiſh, that what hath beene ſaid, had beene better expreſt: But that your Wiſdomes and good Affections will ſupply. GOD bleſſe your Doings.

IT was no hard matter to diſpoſe and affect the *Parliament* in this buſineſſe; aſwell in reſpect of the Emulation betweene the Nations, and the Enuie at the late growth of the *French Monarchie*; as in regard of the Danger, to ſuffer the *French* to make their approaches vpon *England*, by obtaining ſo goodly a maritime *Prouince*, full of Sea-townes, and Hauens, that might doe miſchiefe to the *Engliſh*, either by inuaſion or by interruption of *Traffique*. The *Parliament* was alſo moued with the point of *Oppreſſion*; for although the *French* ſeemed to ſpeake reaſon, yet *Arguments* are euer with multitudes too weake for *Suſpitions*. Wherefore they did aduiſe the King, roundly to embrace the *Britons* quarrell, and to ſend them ſpeedy aides, and with much alacritie and forwardneſſe granted to the King a great rate of *Subſidie*, in contemplation of theſe aides. But the King both to keepe a decencie towards the *French King*, to whom he profeſt himſelfe to be obliged, and indeed deſirous rather to ſhew Warre, then to make it; ſent new ſolemne *Ambaſſadors* to intimate vnto him, the *Decree* of his *Eſtates*, and to iterate his motion, that the *French* would deſiſt from *Hoſtilitie*; or if Warre muſt follow, to deſire him to take it in good part, if at the motion of his people, who were ſenſible of the cauſe of the *Britons* as their ancient

Friends,

Friends, and Confederates, hee did ſend them ſuccours; with proteſtation neuertheleſſe, that to ſaue all *Treaties* and *Lawes* of Friendſhip, hee had limited his *Force*, to proceed in aide of the *Britons*, but in no wiſe to warre vpon the *French*, otherwiſe then as they maintained the poſſeſſion of *Britaine*. But before this formall *Ambaſſage* arriued, the *Partie* of the *Duke* had receiued a great blow, and grew to manifeſt declination. For neere the Towne of Saint *Alban* in *Britaine*, a Battaile had beene giuen, where the *Britons* were ouerthrowne, and the *Duke* of *Orleance*, and the *Prince* of *Orange* taken *Priſoners*, there being ſlaine on the *Britons* part ſix thouſand Men, and amongſt them the *Lord* WOODVILE, and almoſt all his Souldiers, valiantly fighting. And of the *French* part one thouſand two hundred, with their *Leader*, IAMES GALEOT, a great *Commander*.

When the newes of this Battaile came ouer into *England*, it was time for the King (who now had no ſubterfuge to continue further *Treatie*, and ſaw before his Eyes, that *Britaine* went ſo ſpeedily for loſt, contrarie to his hopes, knowing alſo that with his People and Forreiners both, he ſuſtained no ſmall Enuie and diſreputation for his former delayes) to diſpatch with all poſſible ſpeed his ſuccours into *Britaine*; which hee did vnder the conduct of ROBERT Lord BROOKE to the number of eight thouſand choiſe Men, and well armed; who hauing a faire wind, in few houres landed in *Britaine*, and ioyned themſelues forthwith to thoſe *Briton-Forces*, that remained after the *Defeat*, and marched ſtraight on to find the *Enemie*, and incamped faſt by them. The *French* wiſely husbanding the poſſeſſion of a *Victorie*, and well acquainted with the courage of the *Engliſh*, eſpecially when they are freſh, kept themſelues within their *Trenches*, being ſtrongly lodged, and reſolued not to giue battaile.

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But meane while, to harraſſe and wearie the *Engliſh*, they did vpon all aduantages ſet vpon them with their *Light-Horſe*; wherein neuertheleſſe they receiued commonly loſſe, eſpecially by meanes of the *Engliſh-Archers*.

But vpon theſe atchieuements FRANCIS *Duke* of *Britaine* deceaſed; an accident that the King might eaſily haue foreſeene, and ought to haue reckoned vpon, and prouided for, but that the *Point of Reputation*, when newes firſt came of the *Battaile* loſt (that ſomewhat muſt bee done) did ouerbeare the *Reaſon of Warre*.

After the *Dukes* deceaſe, the principall perſons of *Britaine*, partly bought, partly through faction, put all things into confuſion; ſo as the *Engliſh* not finding *Head* or *Bodie* with whom to ioyne their *Forces*, and being in iealouſie of *Friends*, as well as in danger of *Enemies*, and the Winter begun, returned home fiue moneths after their landing. So the Battaile of *Saint Alban*, the death of the *Duke*, and the retire of the *Engliſh ſuccours* were (after ſome time) the cauſes of the loſſe of that *Duchie*; which action ſome accounted as a blemiſh of the Kings Iudgement; but moſt but as the misfortune of his times.

But howſoeuer the temporarie Fruit of the *Parliament* in their aid and aduice giuen for *Britaine*, tooke not, nor proſpered not; yet the laſting Fruit of *Parliament*, which is good and wholſome *Lawes*, did proſper, and doth yet continue to this day. For according to the Lord *Chancellours* admonition, there were that *Parliament* diuers excellent Lawes ordained, concerning the *Points* which the King recommended.

Firſt, the authoritie of the *Star-chamber*, which before ſubſiſted by the ancient *Common-Lawes* of the *Realme*, was confirmed in certaine *Caſes* by *Act* of

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Parliament. This *Court* is one of the sagest and noblest *Institutions* of this Kingdome. For in the distribution of *Courts* of *Ordinarie Iustice* (besides the *High-Court* of *Parliament*) in which distribution the *Kings-Bench* holdeth the *Pleas* of the *Crowne*, the *Common-Place*, *Pleas Ciuill*, the *Exchequer Pleas* concerning the Kings *Reuenue*, and the *Chancery* the *Pretorian* power for mitigating the *Rigour* of *Law*, in case of extremitie, by the conscience of a good man; there was neuertheless alwaies reserued a high and preheminent power to the *Kings Counsell*, in *Causes* that might in example, or consequence, concerne the state of the *Common-wealth*, which if they were *Criminall*, the *Counsell* vsed to sit in the *Chamber*, called the *Star-Chamber*; if *Ciuill*, in the *White-Chamber*, or *White-hall*. And as the *Chancery* had the *Pretorian* power for *Equitie*; so the *Star-chamber* had the *Censorian* power for *Offences*, vnder the degree of *Capitall*. This *Court* of *Star-chamber* is compounded of good Elements; for it consisteth of foure kindes of *Persons*: *Councellors*, *Peeres*, *Prelates*, and *Chief-Iudges*. It discerneth also principally of foure kinds of *Causes*; *Forces*, *Frauds*, *Crimes* various of *Stellionate*, and the *Inchoations* or middle acts towards *Crimes Capitall*, or hainous, not actually committed or perpetrated. But that which was principally aimed at by this Act was *Force*, and the two chiefe *Supports* of *Force*, *Combination* of multitudes, and *Maintenance* or Headship of great *Persons*.

From the generall peace of the *Countrie*, the Kings care went on to the peace of the *Kings House*, and the securitie of his great *Officers* and *Counsellors*. But this *Law* was somwhat of a strange composition and temper. That if any of the Kings seruants vnder the degree of a *Lord*, doe conspire the death of any of the *Kings Counsell*, or *Lord* of the *Realme*, it is made *Capitall*. This *Law* was thought to bee procured by the *Lord*

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Chancellor, who being a sterne and haughtie man, and finding he had some mortall Enemies in *Court*, prouided for his owne safetie; drowning the enuie of it in a generall *Law*, by communicating the priuiledge with all other *Counsellors* and *Peeres*, and yet not daring to extend it further, then to the Kings seruants in *Checkrowle*, lest it should haue beene too harsh to the *Gentlemen*, and other *Commons* of the Kingdome, who might haue thought their ancient *Libertie*, and the clemencie of the *Lawes* of *England* inuaded, *If the will in any case of Felonie should be made the deed*. And yet the reason which the Act yeeldeth (that is to say, *That hee that conspireth the death of Councellors may be thought indirectly, and by a meane, to conspire the death of the King himselfe*) is indifferent to all *Subiects*, as well as to *Seruants* in *Court*. But it seemeth this sufficed to serue the *Lord Chancellors* turne at this time. But yet hee liued to neede a *Generall Law*, for that hee grew afterwards as odious to the *Countrie*, as hee was then to the *Court*.

From the peace of the Kings House, the Kings care extended to the peace of *Priuate Houses* and *Families*. For there was an excellent Morall *Law* moulded thus; The taking and carrying away of *Women* forcibly, and against their will (except *Female-Wards* and *Bond-women*) was made Capitall. The *Parliament* wisely and iustly conceiuing, that the obtaining of *Women* by force into *Possession* (howsoeuer afterwards Assent might follow by Allurements) was but a *Rape* drawne forth in length, because the first *Force* drew on all the rest.

There was made also another *Law* for *Peace* in generall, and repressing of *Murthers* and *Man-slaughters*, and was in amendment of the *Common Lawes* of the *Realme*, being this: That whereas by the *Common Law*, the *Kings-suit* in case of *Homicide*, did expect *The*

yeare and the day, allowed to the *Parties Suit* by way of *Appeale*; and that it was found by experience, that the *Partie* was many times compounded with, and many times wearied with the *Suit*, so that in the end such Suit was let fall, and by that time the matter was in a manner forgotten, and therby *Prosecution* at the *Kings suit* by *Indictment* (which is euer best, *Flagrante crimine*) neglected; it was ordained, That the *Suit* by *Indictment* might bee taken as well at any time within the *yeare* and the *day*, as after, not preiudicing neuertheless the *Parties Suit*.

The King began also then, as well in *Wisdome* as in *Iustice* to pare a little the *Priuiledge* of *Clergie*, ordaining, *That Clarkes conuict should bee burned in the hand*, both because they might taste of some corporall punishment, and that they might carry a *Brand* of infamie. But for this good Acts sake, the King himselfe was after branded by PERKINS Proclamtion, for an execrable breaker of the Rites of *Holy Church*.

Another *Law* was made for the better *Peace* of the *Countrey*; by which *Law* the Kings *Officers* and *Farmors* were to forfeit their Places and Holds, in case of vnlawfull *Retainer*, or partaking in *Routs* and vnlawfull Assemblies.

These were the *Lawes* that were made for repressing of Force, which those times did chiefely require; and were so prudently framed, as they are found fit for all succeeding times, and so continue to this day.

There were also made good and politicke *Lawes* that *Parliament* against *Vsurie*, which is the *Bastard vse* of Money; And against vnlawfull *Chieuances* and *Exchanges*, which is *Bastard Vsurie*; And also for the securitie of the *Kings Customes*; And for the imployment of the *Procedures* of Forraine Commodities, brought in by *Merchant-strangers*, vpon the Native Commodities of the *Realme*; Together with some other *Lawes* of lesse importance.

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But howsoeuer the *Lawes* made in that *Parliament* did beare good and holesome Fruit; yet the *Subsidie* granted at the same time, bare a Fruit, that proued harsh and bitter. All was inned at last into the Kings Barne; but it was after a *Storme*. For when the *Commissioners* entred into the Taxation of the *Subsidie* in *Yorkeshire*, and the *Bishopricke* of *Duresme*; the people vpon a sudaine grew into great mutinie, and said openly, that they had endured of late yeares a thousand miseries, and neither could nor would pay the *Subsidie*. This (no doubt) proceeded not simply of any present necessitie, but much by reason of the old humour of those Countries, where the memorie of King RICHARD was so strong, that it lies like *Lees* in the bottome of mens hearts; and if the *Vessell* was but stirred, it would come vp. And (no doubt) it was partly also by the instigation of some factious *Malecontents*, that bare principall stroke amongst them. Hereupon the *Commissioners* being somewhat astonished, deferred the matter vnto the *Earle* of *Northumberland*, who was the principall man of Authoritie in those Parts. The *Earle* forthwith wrote vnto the *Court*, signifying to the King plainely enough in what flame hee found the people of those Countries, and praying the Kings direction. The King wrote backe peremptorily, That hee would not haue one penny abated, of that which had beene granted to him by *Parliament*, both because it might encourage other Countries to pray the like *Release*, or Mitigation, and chiefely, because hee would neuer endure, that the base *Multitude* should frustrate the Authoritie of the *Parliament*, wherein their *Votes* and Consents were concluded. Vpon this dispatch from Court, the *Earle* assembled the principall *Iustices* and *Free-holders* of the Countrey; and speaking to them in that imperious Language wherein the King had written to him,

which needed not (saue that an *Harsh-businesse* was vnfortunately fallen into the hands of a *Harsh-man*) did not onely irritate the People, but make them conceiue, by the stoutnesse and haughtinesse of deliuerie of the Kings Errand; that himselfe was the Author or principall Perswader of that Counsell. Whereupon the meaner sort routed together, and suddenly assayling the *Earle* in his House, slew him, and diuers of his seruants. And rested not there, but creating for their Leader Sir IOHN EGREMOND, a factious person, and one that had of a long time borne an ill *Talent* towards the King; and being animated also by a base Fellow, called IOHN A CHAMBER, a very *Boutefeu*, who bare much sway amongst the vulgar and popular, entred into open *Rebellion*, and gaue out in flat termes, that they would goe against King HENRY, and fight with him for the maintenance of their *Liberties*.

When the King was aduertised of this new *Insurrection* (being almost a *Feuer*, that tooke him euery yeare) after his manner little troubled therewith, hee sent THOMAS *Earle of Surrey* (whom hee had a little before not onely released out of the Tower, and pardoned, but also receiued to speciall fauour) with a competent Power against the *Rebels*; who fought with the principall Band of them, and defeated them, and tooke aliue IOHN A CHAMBER, their firebrand. As for Sir IOHN EGREMOND, hee fled into *Flanders*, to the Ladie MARGARET of *Burgundie*; whose Palace was the *Sanctuarie* and Receptacle of all Traitors against the King. IOHN A CHAMBER was executed at *Yorke*, in great state; for he was hanged vpon a Gibbet raised a Stage higher in the midst of a square *Gallowes*, as a *Traitor Paramount*; And a number of his men that were his chiefe *Complices*, were hanged vpon the lower Storie round about

about him; and the reſt were generally pardoned. Neither did the King himſelfe omit his cuſtome, to be firſt or ſecond in all his warlike Exploits; making good his Word, which was vſuall with him when he heard of *Rebels*; that *He deſired but to ſee them.* For immediatly after he had ſent downe the *Earle* of *Surrey*, he marched towards them himſelfe in perſon. And although in his iourney hee heard newes of the Victory, yet hee went on as farre as *Yorke*, to pacifie and ſettle thoſe Countryes. And that done returned to *London*, leauing the *Earle* of *Surrey* for his *Lieutenant* in the *Northerne parts*, and Sir RICHARD TVNSTALL for his principall *Commiſſioner*, to leuie the *Subſidie*, whereof he did not remit a *Denier*.

About the ſame time that the King loſt ſo good a Seruant, as the *Earle* of *Northumberland*; hee loſt likewiſe a faithfull friend and Allie of IAMES the third, King of *Scotland*, by a miſerable diſaſter. For this vnfortunate *Prince*, after a long ſmother of diſcontent, and hatred of many of his *Nobilitie* and *People*, breaking forth at times into ſeditions and alterations of *Court*, was at laſt diſtreſſed by them, hauing taken Armes, and ſurpriſed the perſon of *Prince* IAMES his ſonne, partly by force, partly by threats, that they would otherwiſe deliuer vp the Kingdome to the King of *England*, to ſhadow their Rebellion, and to bee the titular and painted Head of thoſe Armes. Whereupon the King (finding himſelfe too weake) ſought vnto King HENRY, as alſo vnto the *Pope*, and the King of *France*, to compoſe thoſe troubles, betweene him and his Subiects. The Kings accordingly interpoſed their Mediation in a round and Princely manner: Not only by way of requeſt and perſwaſion, but alſo by way of proteſtation of menace; declaring, that they thought it to be the common Cauſe of all Kings, *If Subiects ſhould be ſuffered to giue Lawes*

vnto

vnto their Soueraigne; and that they would accordingly resent it, and reuenge it. But the *Rebels* that had shaken off the greater *Yoke* of Obedience, had likewise cast away the lesser *Tye* of Respect. And *Furie* preuailing aboue *Feare*, made answer, That there was no talking of Peace, except the King would resigne his Crowne. Whereupon (Treatie of Accord taking no place) it came to a *Battaile*, at *Bannocks-Bourne* by *Striuelin*. In which Battaile the King transported with wrath and iust indignation, inconsiderately fighting and precipitating the charge, before his whole numbers came vp to him, was (notwithstanding the contrarie expresse and straight commandement of the *Prince* his sonne) slaine in the Pursuit, being fled to a Mill, scituate in the field, where the Battaile was fought.

As for the *Popes* Ambassie, which was sent by ADRIAN DE CASTELLO an *Italian Legate* (and perhaps as those times were might haue preuailed more) it came too late for the *Ambassie*, but not for the *Ambassador*. For passing through *England*, and being honourably entertained, and receiued of King HENRY; (who euer applied himselfe with much respect to the *See* of *Rome*) hee fell into great grace with the King, and great familiaritie and friendship with MORTON the *Chancellor*. In so much as the King taking a liking to him, and finding him to his minde; preferred him to the Bishopricke of *Hereford*, and afterwards to that of *Bath* and *Wells*, and imployed him in many of his affaires of *State*, that had relation to *Rome*. Hee was a man of great learning, wisedome, and dexteritie in businesse of *State*; and hauing not long after ascended to the degree of *Cardinall*, payd the King large tribute of his gratitude, in diligent and iudicious aduertisement of the occurrents of *Italie*. Neuertheless in the end of his time, hee was

parta-

partaker of the conſpiracie, which *Cardinall* ALPHONSO PETRVCCI, and ſome other *Cardinalls* had plotted againſt the life of *Pope* LEO. And this offence in it ſelfe ſo hainous, was yet in him aggrauated by the motiue therof, which was not malice or diſcontent, but an aſpiring minde to the *Papacie*. And in this height of impietie there wanted not an intermixture of leuitie and follie; for that (as was generally beleiued) hee was animated to expect the *Papacie*, by a fatall *Mockerie*, the prediction of a *Southſaier*, which was; *That one ſhould ſucceed* Pope LEO, *whoſe name ſhould bee* ADRIAN, *an aged man of meane birth, and of great learning and wiſdome*. By which *Character* and figure, hee tooke himſelfe to bee deſcribed though it were fulfilled of ADRIAN the *Flemming*, ſonne of a *Dutch Brewer*, *Cardinall* of *Tortoſa*, and *Preceptor* vnto CHARLES the Fift; the ſame that not changing his *Chriſten-name*, was afterwards called ADRIAN the Sixt.

But theſe things happened in the yeare following, which was the fift of this King. But in the end of the fourth yeare the King had called againe his *Parliament*, not as it ſeemeth for any particular occaſion of *State*. But the former *Parliament* being ended ſomewhat ſodainly, in regard of the preparation for *Britaine*, the King thought hee had not remunerated his people ſufficiently with good *Lawes*, which euermore was his Retribution for Treaſure. And finding by the Inſurrection in the *North*, there was diſcontentment abroad, in reſpect of the *Subſidie*, hee thought it good to giue his Subiects yet further contentment, and comfort in that kind. Certainly his times for good *Comon-wealths Lawes* did excell. So as he may iuſtly be celebrated for the beſt *Law-giuer* to this Nation, after King EDWARD the firſt. For his *Lawes* (who ſo markes them well) are deepe, and not vulgar;

gar; not made vpon the *Spurre* of a particular Occasion for the *Present*, but out of Prouidence of the *Future*, to make the Estate of his People still more and more happie; after the manner of the *Legislators* in ancient and Heroicall Times.

First therfore he made a *Law*, sutable to his owne Acts and Times. For as himselfe had in his Person and Marriage made a finall Concord, in the great Suit and Title for the *Crowne*; so by this *Law* hee setled the like Peace and Quiet in the priuate Possessions of the Subiects. Ordaining, *That Fines thence-forth should bee finall, to conclude all Strangers Rights*; and that vpon *Fines* leuied, and solemnely proclaimed, the *Subiect* should haue his time of Watch for fiue yeares after his Title accrued; which if hee fore-passed, his Right should be bound for euer after; with some exception neuertheless, of *Minors*, *Married-Women*, and such incompetent Persons.

This *Statute* did in effect but restore an ancient Statute of the Realme, which was it selfe also made but in affirmance of the *Common-Law*. The alteration had beene by a *Statute*, commonly called the *Statute* of *Non-claime*, made in the time of EDWARD the Third. And surely this *Law* was a kind of *Prognostick* of the good Peace, which since his time hath (for the most part) continued in this Kingdome, vntill this day. For *Statutes* of *Non-Claime* are fit for times of Warre, when mens heads are troubled, that they cannot intend their Estate; But *Statutes*, that quiet *Possessions*, are fittest for Times of Peace, to extinguish Suits and Contentions, which is one of the *Banes* of Peace.

Another *Statute* was made of singular *Policie*, for the Population apparantly, and (if it bee throughly considered) for the *Souldiery*, and *Militar Fortes* of the *Realme*.

Inclo-

Incloſures at that time began to be more frequent, whereby Arrable Land (which could not be manured without people and Families) was turned into Paſture, which was eaſily rid by a few *Heardſ-men* ; and Tenancies for *Yeares*, *Liues*, and *At Will* (whereupon much of the *Yeomanrie* liued) were turned into Demeſnes. This bred a decay af People, and (by conſequence) a decay of *Townes*, *Churches*, *Tithes*, and the like. The King likewiſe knew full well, and in no wiſe forgot, that there enſued with all vpon this a decay and diminution of *Subſidie* and *Taxes* ; for the more Gentlemen, euer the lower bookes of *Subſidies*. In remedying of this inconuenience, the Kings Wiſdome was admirable, and the *Parliaments* at that time. *Incloſures* they would not forbid, for that had beene to forbid the improuement of the *Patrimonie* of the Kingdome ; nor *Tillage* they would not compell, for that was to ſtriue with Nature and Vtilitie. But they tooke a courſe to take away depopulating *Incloſures*, and depopulating *Paſturage*, and yet not by that name, or by any Imperious expreſſe *Prohibition*, but by conſequence. The *Ordinance* was, *That all Houſes of Husbandry, that were vſed with twentie Acres of Ground, and vpwards, ſhould bee maintained and kept vp for euer ; together with a competent Proportion of Land to be vſed and occupied with them* ; and in no wiſe to be ſeuered from them, as by another *Statute*, made afterwards in his Succeſſors time, was more fully declared. This vpon Forfeiture to be taken ; not by way of Popular *Action*, but by ſeizure of the Land it ſelfe. by the King and Lords of the *Fee*, as to halfe the Profits, till the Houſes and Lands were reſtored. By this meanes the Houſes being kept vp, did of neceſſitie inforce a *Dweller* ; and the proportion of Land for Occupation being kept vp, did of neceſſitie inforce that *Dweller* ; not to be a Begger or *Cottager*, but a man

of ſome ſubſtance, that might keepe Hiends and Seruants, and ſet the Plough on going. This did wonderfully concerne the *Might* and *Manner-hood* of the Kingdome, to haue Fermes, as it were of a *Standard* ſufficient to maintaine an able Body out of Penurie, and did in effect amortize a great part of the Lands of the Kingdome vnto the Hold and Occupation of the *Yeomanrie* or *Middle-people*, of a condition betweene *Gentlemen*, and *Cottagers*, or *Peaſants*? Now, how much this did aduance the *Militar Power* of the Kingdome, is apparant by the true *Principles* of Warre, and the examples of other Kingdomes: For it hath beene held by the generall Opinion of men of beſt Iudgement in the warres (howſoeuer ſome few haue varied, and that it may receiue ſome diſtinction of Caſe) that the principall Strength of an Armie conſiſteth in the *Infanterie* or *Foot*. And to make good *Infanterie*, it requireth men bred, not in a ſeruile or indigent faſhion, but in ſome free and plentifull manner. Therefore if a *State* runne moſt to *Noblemen* and *Gentlemen*, and that the *Husband-men* and *Plough-men* be but as their Work-folkes and Labourers, or elſe meere *Cottagers* (which are but *Houſed-Beggers*) you may haue a good *Cauallerie*, but neuer good ſtable Bands of *Foot*; like to *Coppice-Woods*, that if you leaue in them *Staddles* too thicke, they will runne to Buſhes and Briars, and haue little cleane Vnderwood. And this is to be ſeene in *France*, and *Italie*, and ſome other Parts abroad, where in effect all is *Nobleſſe*, or *Peſantrie*, I ſpeake of People out of Townes, and no middle People; and therefore no good Forces of *Foot*: Inſomuch, as they are inforced to imploy Mercenarie Bands, of *Switzers* and the like, for their *Battalions* of *Foot*: Whereby alſo it comes to paſſe, that thoſe *Nations* haue much People, and few *Souldiors*. Whereas the King ſaw, that contrariwiſe

it would follow, that *England* though much leſſe in Territorie, yet ſhould haue infinitly more *Souldiours* of their natiue Forces, then thoſe other Nations haue. Thus did the King ſecretly ſow *Hidraes* teeth, whereupon (according to the *Poets* fiction) ſhould riſe vp *Armed men* for the ſeruice of this Kingdome.

The King alſo (hauing care to make his Realme potent, aſwell by *Sea* as by *Land*) for the better maintenance of the *Nauie*, ordained; *That wines and woads from the parts of* Gaſcoigne *and* Languedocke, *ſhould not be brought but in Engliſh bottomes*; Bowing the ancient Policie of this Eſtate, from conſideration of *Plentie*, to conſideration of *Power*. For that almoſt all the ancient *Statutes* incite by all meanes *Merchant-Strangers*, to bring in all ſorts of Commodities; hauing for end *Cheapneſſe*, and not looking to the point of *State* concerning the *Nauall-power*.

The King alſo made a *Statute* in that *Parliament* Monitory and Minatory, towards *Iuſtices* of *Peace*, that they ſhould duly execute their office, inuiting complaints againſt them, firſt to their *Fellow-Iuſtices*, then to the *Iuſtices* of *Aſſiſe*, then to the *King* or *Chancellor*; and that a *Proclamation*, which hee had publiſhed of that Tenor, ſhould be read in open *Seſſions* foure times a yeare, to keepe them awake. Meaning alſo to haue his lawes executed, and therby to reape either *Obedience* or *Forfeitures*; (wherein towards his latter times hee did decline too much to the left hand) he did ordaine remedie againſt the practice that was growne in vſe, to ſtop and dampe *Informations* vpon *Penall Lawes*, by procuring *Informations* by colluſion to be put in by the Confederates of the Delinquents, to be faintly proſecuted, and let fall at pleaſure, and pleading them in Barre of the *Informations*, which were proſecuted with effect.

He made alſo *Lawes* for the correction of the *Mint*,

and counterfaiting of forreine *Coyne* currant. And that no payment in *Gold*, ſhould bee made to any *Merchant-ſtranger*, the better to keepe Treaſure within the *Realme*, for that *Gold* was the mettall that lay in leaſt roome.

He made alſo *Statutes* for the maintenance of *Draperie*, and the keeping of *Wools* within the *Realme*; and not only ſo, but for ſtinting, and limiting the prices of *Cloth*, one for the *Finer*, and another for the *Courſer* ſort. Which I note, both becauſe it was a rare thing to ſet prices by *Statute*, eſpecially vpon our Home-Commodities; and becauſe of the wiſe *Modele* of this *Act*, not preſcribing Prices, but ſtinting them not to exceed a rate, that the *Clothier* might drape accordingly as he might affoord.

Diuers other good *Statutes* were made that *Parliament*, but theſe were the principall. And here I doe deſire thoſe, into whoſe hands this worke ſhall fall, that they do take in good part my long inſiſting vpon the *Lawes*, that were made in this Kings reigne. Whereof I haue theſe reaſons; Both becauſe it was the preheminent vertue and merit of this King, to whoſe memorie I doe honour; and becauſe it hath ſome correſpondence to my Perſon; but chiefly, becauſe (in my iudgement) it is ſome defect euen in the beſt writers of *Hiſtorie*, that they doe not often enough ſummarily deliuer and ſet downe the moſt memorable *Lawes*, that paſſed in the times whereof they write, being indeed the principall *Acts* of Peace. For though they may bee had in *Originall Bookes* of *Law* themſelues; yet that informeth not the iudgement of *Kings* and *Councellors*, and *Perſons* of *Eſtate*, ſo well as to ſee them deſcribed, and entred in the *Table* and *Pourtrait* of the Times.

About the ſame time, the King had a *Loane* from the *Citie* of *Foure thouſand pounds*; which was double

to

to that they lent before, and was duely and orderly payd back at the day, as the former likewise had beene. The King euer choosing rather to borrow too soone, then to pay too late, and so keeping vp his Credit.

Neither had the King yet cast off his cares and hopes touching *Britaine*, but thought to master the occasion by Policie, though his Armes had beene vnfortunate, and to bereaue the *French King* of the fruit of his *Victorie*. The summe of his designe was, to encourage MAXIMILIAN to goe on with his suit, for the marriage of ANNE, the heire of *Britaine*, and to aide him to the consummation therof. But the affaires of MAXIMILIAN were at that time in great trouble and combustion, by a *Rebellion* of his Subiects in *Flanders*; especially those of *Bruges* and *Gaunt*, wherof the Towne of *Bruges* (at such time as MAXIMILIAN was there in person) had sodainly armed in tumult, and slaine some of his principall Officers, and taken himselfe prisoner, and held him in durance, till they had enforced him, and some of his Councellors, to take a solemne oath, to pardon all their offences, and neuer to question and reuenge the same in time to come. Neuertheless FREDERICKE the *Emperour* would not suffer this reproach and indignitie offered to his sonne to passe, but made sharpe warres vpon *Flanders*, to reclaime and chastise the *Rebels*. But the Lord RAVENSTEIN, a principall person about MAXIMILIAN, and one that had taken the oath of *Abolition* with his Master, pretending the Religion therof, but indeed vpon priuate ambition, and (as it was thought) instigated and corrupted from *France*, forsooke the *Emperour* and MAXIMILIAN his Lord, and made himselfe an Head of the *Popular Partie*, and seized vpon the Townes of *Ipre* and *Sluce*, with both the *Castles*. And forthwith sent

ſent to the Lord CORDES, Gouernour of *Picardie* vnder the *French King*, to deſire aide, and to moue him, that hee on the behalfe of the *French King* would bee *Protector* of the *vnited Towns*, and by force of Armes reduce the reſt. The Lord CORDES was readie to embrace the occaſion, which was partly of his owne ſetting, and ſent forthwith greater *Forces*, then it had beene poſſible for him to raiſe on the ſodaine, if hee had not looked for ſuch a ſummons before, in aide of the Lord RAVENSTEIN, and the *Flemmings*, with inſtructions to inueſt the Townes betweene *France* and *Bruges*. The *French Forces* beſieged a little Towne called *Dixmue*, where part of the *Flemmiſh Forces* ioyned with them. While they lay at this ſiege, the *King* of *England*, vpon pretence of the ſafety of the *Engliſh Pale* about *Calice*, but in truth being loth that MAXIMILIAN ſhould become contemptible, and therby bee ſhaken off by the States of *Britaine* about this marriage, ſent ouer the Lord MORLEY with a thouſand men vnto the Lord DAVBIGNY, then Deputie of *Calice*, with ſecret inſtructions to aide MAXIMILIAN, and to raiſe the ſiege of *Dixmue*. The Lord DAVBIGNY (giuing it out that all was for the ſtrengthning of the *Engliſh Marches*) drew out of the *Garriſons* of *Calice*, *Hammes*, and *Guines*, to the number of a thouſand Men more. So that with the freſh Succours that came vnder the *Conduct* of the Lord MORLEY, they made vp to the number of two thouſand, or better. Which *Forces* ioyning with ſome Companies of *Almaines*, put themſelues into *Dixmue*, not perceiued by the Enemies; and paſſing through the Towne with ſome re-enforcement (from the *Forces* that were in the Towne) aſſailed the Enemies Campe, negligently guarded, as being out of feare; where there was a bloudy fight, in which the *Engliſh* and their *Partakers* ob-

obtained the victorie, and slew to the number of eight thousand Men, with the losse on the *English* part of a hundred or thereabouts; amongst whom was the Lord MORLEY. They tooke also their great Ordnance, with much rich spoiles, which they carried to *Newport*, whence the Lord DAVBIGNY returned to *Calice*, leauing the hurt Men, and some other Voluntaries in *Newport*. But the Lord CORDES being at *Ipre* with a great power of Men, thinking to recouer the losse and disgrace of the fight at *Dixmue*, came presently on, and sate downe before *Newport*, and besieged it; and after some dayes siege, hee resolued to trie the fortune of an *Assault*: Which hee did one day, and succeeded therein so farre, that hee had taken the principall Tower and Fort in that Citie, and planted vpon it the *French* Banner. Whence neuertheless they were presently beaten forth by the *English*, by the helpe of some fresh Succours of Archers arriuing by good fortune (at the instant) in the Hauen of *Newport*. Whereupon the Lord CORDES discouraged, and measuring the new Succours (which were small) by the Successe (which was great) leuied his Siege. By this meanes, matters grew more exasperate betweene the two Kings of *England* and *France*, for that in the warre of *Flanders*, the auxiliarie Forces of *French* and *English* were much blouded one against another. Which Bloud rankled the more, by the vaine words of the Lord CORDES, that declared himselfe an open Enemie of the *English*, beyond that that appertained to the present Seruice; making it a common byword of his, *That hee could bee content to lie in Hell seuen yeares, so hee might winne Calice from the English.*

The King hauing thus vpheld the Reputation of MAXIMILIAN, aduised him now to presse on his Mar-

Marriage with *Britaine* to a concluſion. Which MAXIMILIAN accordingly did, and ſo farre forth preuayled both with the young *Lady*, and with the principall perſons about her, as the Marriage was conſummate by *Proxie*, with a *Ceremonie* at that time in theſe Parts new. For ſhee was not onely publikely contracted, but ſtated as a *Bride*, and ſolemnly Bedded; and after ſhee was laid, there came in MAXIMILIANS *Ambaſſadour* with letters of *Procuration*, and in the preſence of ſundry Noble Perſonages, Men and Women, put his Legge (ſtript naked to the Knee) betweene the Eſpouſall Sheets; to the end, that that *Ceremonie* might bee thought to amount to a *Conſummation*, and actuall Knowledge. This done, MAXIMILIAN (whoſe propertie was to leaue things then, when they were almoſt come to perfection, and to end them by imagination; like ill Archers, that draw not their Arrowes vp to the Head: and who might as eaſily haue bedded the *Lady* himſelfe, as to haue made a *Play* and *Diſguiſe* of it) thinking now all aſſured, neglected for a time his further Proceeding, and intended his Warres. Meane while, the *French King* (conſulting with his *Diuines*, and finding that this pretended *Conſummation* was rather an *Inuention* of Court, then any wayes valide by the Lawes of the *Church*) went more really to worke, and by ſecret Inſtruments and cunning Agents, as well *Matrons* about the young *Lady* as *Councellors*, firſt ſought to remoue the Point of *Religion* and *Honour* out of the minde of the *Lady* her ſelfe, wherein there was a double labour. For MAXIMILIAN was not onely contracted vnto the *Lady*, but MAXIMILIANS daughter was likewiſe contracted to King CHARLES. So as the *Marriage halted vpon both feet*, and was not cleare on either ſide: But for the *Contract* with King CHARLES, the Exception lay plaine and faire; for that MAXIMI-

LIANS daughter was vnder yeares of *consent*, and so not bound by Law, but a power of Disagreement left to either part. But for the *Contract* made by MAXIMILIAN with the *Lady* her selfe, they were harder driuen: hauing nothing to alledge, but that it was done without the consent of her *Soueraigne* Lord, King CHARLES, whose *Ward* and *Client* shee was, and Hee to her in place of a Father; and therfore it was void, and of no force, for want of such Consent. Which defect (they sayd) though it would not euacuate a *Marriage*, after *Cohabitation*, and *Actuall Consummation*; yet it was enough to make void a *Contract*. For as for the pretended *Consummation*, they made sport with it, and said: *That it was an argument, that* MAXIMILIAN *was a Widdower, and a cold Wooer, that could content himselfe to be a Bridgrome by Deputie, and would not make a little Iourney, to put all out of question.* So that the young *Lady*, wrought vpon by these Reasons, finely instilled by such as the *French King* (who spared for no Rewards or Promises) had made on his side; and allured likewise by the present Glory and Greatnesse of King CHARLES. (being also a young King, and a *Batchelor*,) and loth to make her Counrrey the Seat of a long and miserable Warre; secretly yeelded to accept of King CHARLES. But during this secret *Treatie* with the *Ladie*, the better to saue it from Blasts of Opposition and Interruption, King CHARLES resorting to his wonted Arts, and thinking to carry the *Marriage*, as hee had carried the Warres, by entertaining the King of *England* in vaine beliefe, sent a solemne *Ambassage* by FRANCIS Lord of *Luximburge*, CHARLES MARIGNIAN and ROBERT GAGVIEN, Generall of the *Order* of the *Bonnes Hommes* of the *Trinitie*, to treat a Peace and League with the King; accoupling it with an *Article* in the nature of a *Request*, that the

French King might with the Kings good will (according vnto his right of *Seigniorie* and *Tutelage*) dispose of the Marriage of the young *Duchesse* of *Britaine*, as hee should thinke good; offering by a Iudiciall proceeding to make void the *Marriage* of MAXIMILIAN by *Proxie*. Also all this while the better to amuse the world, hee did continue in his Court and custodie the Daughter of MAXIMILIAN, who formerly had beene sent vnto him, to bee bred and educated in *France*; not dismissing or renvoying her, but contrariwise professing and giuing out strongly, that hee meant to proceed with that Match. And that for the *Duchesse* of *Britaine*, hee desired onely to preserue his right of *Seigniory*, and to giue her in *Marriage* to some such *Allye*, as might depend vpon him.

When the three Commissioners came to the Court of *England*, they deliuered their *Ambassage* vnto the King, who remitted them to his *Councell*; where some dayes after they had Audience, and made their Proposition by the *Prior* of the *Trinitie* (who though hee were third in place, yet was held the best Speaker of them) to this effect.

MY *Lords, the King our Master, the greatest and mightiest King that raigned in* France *since* CHARLES *the Great (whose Name he beareth) hath neuertheless thought it no disparagement to his Greatnesse, at this time, to propound a Peace, yea, and to pray a Peace with the King of* England. *For which purpose hee hath sent vs his Commissioners, instructed and enabled with full and ample power,*

to

to treat and conclude; giuing vs further in charge, to open in some other busineſſe the ſecrets of his owne intentions. Theſe be indeed the precious Loue-tokens betweene great Kings, to communicate one with another the true ſtate of their affaires, and to paſſe by nice Points of Honour, which ought not to giue Law vnto Affection. This I doe aſſure your Lordſhips; It is not poſſible for you to imagine the true and cordiall Loue, that the King our Maſter beareth to your Soueraigne, except you were neare him, as we are. He vſeth his Name with ſo great reſpect; he remembreth their firſt acquaintance at Paris with ſo great contentment; nay, hee neuer ſpeakes of him, but that preſently he falls into diſcourſe of the miſeries of great Kings, in that they cannot conuerſe with their Equalls, but with Seruants. This affection to your Kings Perſon and Vertues, GOD hath put into the Heart of our Maſter, no doubt for the good of Chriſtendome, and for purpoſes yet vnknowne to vs all. For other Root it cannot haue, ſince it was the ſame to the Earle of Richmond, that it is now to the King of England. This is therefore the firſt motiue that makes our King to deſire Peace, and League with your Soueraigne: Good affection, and ſomewhat that hee findes in his owne Heart. This affection is alſo armed

with reason of Estate. For our King doth in all candour and frankneſſe of dealing open himſelfe vnto you; that hauing an honourable, yea, and a holy Purpoſe, to make a Voyage and Warre in remote Parts, he conſidereth that it will be of no ſmall effect, in point of Reputation to his enterpriſe, if it be knowne abroad, that hee is in good peace with all his Neighbour Princes, and ſpecially with the King of England, whom for good cauſes he eſteemeth moſt.

But now (my Lords) giue me leaue to vſe a few words to remoue all ſcruples and miſſe-vnderſtandings, betweene your Soueraigne and ours, concerning ſome late Actions; which if they be not cleared, may perhaps hinder this Peace. To the end, that for matters paſt, neither King may conceiue vnkindneſſe of other, nor think the other conceiueth vnkindneſſe of him. The late Actions are two; That of Brittaine, and that of Flanders. In both which, it is true, that the Subiects ſwords of both Kings, haue encountred and ſtricken, and the wayes and Inclinations alſo of the two Kings, in reſpect of their Confederates and Allies, haue ſeuered.

For that of Brittaine, The King your Soueraigne knoweth beſt what hath paſſed. It was a Warre of neceſſitie on our Maſters part. And though the Motiues of it were ſharp and pi-

quant

quant as could be, yet did he make that Warre rather with an Oliue-branch, then a Laurel-Branch in his Hand, more desiring Peace then Victorie. Besides, from time to time he sent (as it were) Blank-papers to your King, to write the conditions of Peace. For though both his Honour and Safetie went upon it, yet he thought neither of them too precious, to put into the King of Englands hands. Neither doth your King on the other side make any vnfriendly interpretation, of your Kings sending of succours to the Duke of Brittaine; for the King knoweth well, that many things must bee done of Kings for satisfaction of their People, and it is not hard to discerne what is a Kings owne. But this matter of Brittaine is now (by the Act of GOD.) ended and passed, and (as the King hopeth) like the way of a Ship in the Sea, without leauing any impression in either of the Kings mindes; as hee is sure for his part it hath not done in his.

For the Action of Flanders; As the former of Brittaine was a Warre of necessitie, so this was a Warre of Iustice; which with a good King is of equall necessitie, with danger of Estate, for else hee should leaue to bee a King. The Subiects of Burgundie are Subiects in Chiefe to the Crown of France, and their Duke the Homager and Vassall of France. They had wont to bee good Sub-

Subiects, howsoeuer MAXIMILIAN *hath of late distempered them. They fled to the* King *for Iustice, and deliuerance from oppression. Iustice hee could not denie; Purchase hee did not seeke. This was good for* MAXIMILIAN, *if he could haue seene it in people mutined, to arrest Fury, and preuent Despaire. My Lords, it may bee this I haue said is needlesse, saue that the* King *our Master is tender in any thing, that may but glance vpon the friendship of* England. *The amitie betweene the two* Kings (*no doubt*) *stands entire and inuiolate. And that their Subiects swords haue clashed, it is nothing vnto the publike Peace of the Crownes; it being a thing very vsuall in auxiliarie Forces of the best and straitest Confederates, to meet and draw bloud in the Field. Nay, many times there bee Aides of the same Nation on both sides, and yet it is not* (*for all that*) A Kingdome diuided in it selfe.

It resteth (*my Lords*) *that I impart vnto you a matter, that I know your Lordships all will much reioyce to heare; as that which importeth the Christian Common-weale more, then any Action that hath hapned of long time. The* King *our Master hath a purpose and determination, to make Warre vpon the kingdome of* Naples; *being now in the possession of a Bastardslip of*

Ar-

Arragon, *but appertaining vnto his Maieſtie, by cleare and vndoubted right; which if hee ſhould not by iuſt Armes ſeeke to recouer, hee could neither acquite his Honour; nor anſwer it to his People. But his Noble and Chriſtian thoughts reſt not here. For his Reſolution and Hope is, to make the Re-conqueſt of* Naples, *but as a Bridge, to tranſport his Forces into* Grecia; *and not to ſpare Bloud or Treaſure (If it were to the impawning of his Crowne, and diſ-peopling of* France) *till either hee hath ouerthrowne the Empire of the* OTTOMANS, *or taken it in his way to Paradiſe. The King knoweth well, that this is a deſigne; that could not ariſe in the minde of any* King, *that did not ſtedfaſtly looke vp vnto* GOD, *whoſe quarrell this is, and from whom commeth both the Will, and the Deed. But yet it is agreeable to the Perſon that hee beareth (though vnworthy) of the* Thrice-Chriſtian King, *and the eldeſt Sonne of the* Church. *Whereunto he is alſo inuited by the Example (in more ancient time) of* King HENRIE *the Fourth of* England, *(the firſt Renowned* King *of the Houſe of* LANCASTER; *Anceſtour, though not Progenitour to your* King) *who had a purpoſe towards the end of his time (as you know better) to make an* Expedition *into the* Holy-Land,

and

and by the Example also (present before his eyes) of that Honourable and Religious Warre which the King of Spaine now maketh, and hath almost brought to perfection, for the recouerie of the Realme of Granada from the Moores. And although this Enterprise may seeme vast and vnmeasured, for the King to attempt that by his owne Forces, wherein heretofore a Coniunction of most of the Christian Princes hath found worke enough; yet his Maiestie wisely considereth, that sometimes smaller Forces being vnited vnder one Command, are more effectuall in Proofe (though not so promising in Opinion and Fame) then much greater Forces, variously compounded by Associations and Leagues, which commonly in a short time after their Beginnings, turne to Dissociations & Diuisions. But my (Lords) that which is as a Voice from Heauen that called the King to this Enterprise, is a Rent at this time in the House of the OTTOMANS. I doe not say, but there hath beene Brother against Brother in that House before, but neuer any that had refuge to the Armes of the Christians, as now hath GEMES, (Brother vnto BAIAZETH, that reigneth) the farre brauer Man of the two; the other being betweene a Monke and a Philosoper

and

and better read in the Alcoran *and* Auerroes, *then able to weild the* Scepter *of so warlike an* Empire. *This therefore is the King our* Masters *memorable and heroicall Resolution for an* Holy Warre. *And because he carrieth in this the Person of a* Christian Souldiour, *as well as of a Great* Temporall Monarch; *hee beginneth with* Humilitie, *and is content for this cause, to begge* Peace *at the hands of other* Christian Kings. *There remaineth onely rather a* Ciuill Request, *then any essentiall part of our* Negotiation, *which the King maketh to the King your* Soueraigne. *The King (as the World knoweth) is* Lord *in* Chiefe *of the* Duchie *of* Britaine. *The* Marriage *of the* Heire *belongeth to him as* Guardian. *This is a priuate* Patrimoniall Right, *and no Businesse of* Estate: *yet neuertheless (to runne a faire course with your King, whom he desires to make another Himselfe, and to bee one and the same thing with him) his* Request *is, That with the Kings Fauour and Consent, he may dispose of her* Marriage, *as he thinketh good, and make void the intruded and pretended* Marriage *of* MAXIMILIAN, *according to Iustice. This (my Lords) is all that I haue to say, desiring your pardon for my weakenesse in the deliuerie.*

THus did the *French Ambaſſadors* with great ſhew of their Kings affection, and many ſugred words ſeeke to adulce all matters betweene the two Kings, hauing two things for their ends; The one, to keepe the King quiet till the Marriage of *Britaine* was paſt, and this was but a *Summer fruit*, which they thought was almoſt ripe and would be ſoone gathered. The other was more laſting; and that was to put him into ſuch a temper as he might be no diſturbance or impediment to the voyage for *Italie*. The *Lords* of the *Councell* were ſilent; and ſaid only, *That they knew the Ambaſſadors would looke for no anſwer, till they had reported to the King*; And ſo they roſe from *Councell*. The King could not well tell what to thinke of the Marriage of *Britaine*. He ſaw plainly the ambition of the *French King* was to impatronize himſelfe of the *Duchie*; but he wondred he would bring into his *Houſe* a litigious Marriage, eſpecially conſidering who was his Succeſſor. But weighing one thing with another, he gaue *Britaine* for loſt; but reſolued to make his profit of this buſineſſe of *Britaine*, as a quarrell for Warre; and that of *Naples*, as a *Wrench* and meane for Peace; being well aduertiſed, how ſtrongly the King was bent vpon that *Action*. Hauing therefore conferred diuers times with his *Councell*, and keeping himſelfe ſomewhat cloſe; he gaue a direction to the *Chancellor*, for a formall anſwer to the *Ambaſſadors*, and that hee did in the preſence of his *Councell*. And after calling the *Chancellor* to him apart, bade him ſpeake in ſuch language, as was fit for a *Treatie* that was to end in a Breach; and gaue him alſo a ſpeciall *Caueat*, that he ſhould not vſe any words, to diſcourage the voyage of *Italie*. Soone after the *Ambaſſadors* were ſent for to the *Councell*, and the Lord *Chancellor* ſpake to them in this ſort.

My

MY Lords Ambaſſadours, I ſhall make anſwer by the Kings Commandement, vnto the eloquent Declaration of you my Lord Prior, in a briefe and plaine manner. The King forgetteth not his former loue and acquaintance with the King your Maſter. But of this there needeth no repetition. For if it bee betweene them as it was, it is well; if there bee any alteration, it is not words that will make it vp.

For the Buſineſſe of Britaine, the King findeth it a little ſtrange that the French King maketh mention of it, as matter of well deſeruing at his hand. For that Deſeruing was no more, but to make him his Inſtrument, to ſurprize one of his beſt Confederates. And for the Marriage, the King would not meddle in it if your Maſter would marry by the Book, and not by the Sword.

For that of Flanders, if the Subiects of Burgundie had appealed to your King, as their Chiefe Lord, at firſt, by way of Supplication; it might haue had a ſhew of Iuſtice. But it was a new forme of Proceſſe, for Subiects to impriſon their Prince firſt, and to ſlay his Officers, and then to be Complianants. The King ſaith, That ſure he is, when the French King, and himſelfe ſent to the Subiects of Scotland (that

had taken Armes againſt their King) they both ſpake in another Stile, and did in princely manner ſignifie their deteſtation of Popular Attentates, vpon the Perſon or Authoritie of Princes. But my Lords Ambaſſadors, the King leaueth theſe two actions thus: That on the one ſide, hee hath not receiued any manner of ſatisfaction from you concerning them; and on the other, that he doth not apprehend them ſo deepely, as in reſpect of them, to refuſe to treat of Peace, if other things may goe hand in hand. As for the Warre of Naples, and the Deſigne againſt the Turke; the King hath commanded me expreſſely to ſay, That hee doth wiſh with all his heart, to his good Brother the French King, that his Fortunes may ſucceede according to his Hopes, and honourable intentions. And whenſoeuer he ſhall heare, that he is prepared for Grecia, as your Maſter is pleaſed now to ſay, that he beggeth a Peace of the King, ſo the King will then begge of him a part in that Warre.

But now my Lords Ambaſſadours, I am to propound vnto you ſomewhat on the Kings part. The King your Maſter hath taught our King what to ſay and demand. You ſay (my Lord Prior) that your King is reſolued to recouer his right to Naples, wrongfully detained from him.

And

And that if hee ſhould not thus doe, he could not acquite his Honour, nor anſwere it to his People. Thinke (my Lords) that the King our Maſter *ſaith the ſame thing ouer againe to you touching* Normandie, Guien, Angeou, *yea and the Kingdome of* France *it ſelfe. I cannot expreſſe it better then in your owne words: If therefore the* French *King ſhall conſent, that the King our* Maſters *Title to* France (*at leaſt* Tribute *for the ſame*) *be handled in the* Treatie, *the King is content to goe on with the reſt; otherwiſe he refuſeth to Treat.*

THe *Ambaſſadors* being ſomwhat abaſhed with this demand, anſwered in ſome heat; *That they doubted not, but the King their Soueraignes ſword would be able to maintaine his Scepter*: And they aſſured themſelues, he neither could nor would yeeld to any diminution of the Crowne of *France* either in *Territory* or *Regalitie*. But howſoeuer, they were too great matters for them to ſpeake of, hauing no Commiſſion. It was replied, that the King looked for no other anſwer from them; but would forth-with ſend his own *Ambaſſadors* to the *French King*. There was a queſtion alſo asked at the Table, *Whether the French King would agree to haue the diſpoſing of the Marriage of* Britaine *with an exception & excluſion, that he ſhould not marry her himſelfe?* To which the *Ambaſſadors* anſwered; That it was ſo farre out of their Kings thoughts, as they had receiued no Inſtructions touching the ſame. Thus were the *Ambaſſadors* diſmiſſed, all ſaue the *Prior*; and were followed immediatly by THOMAS *Earle of Ormond*, and THOMAS GOLDENSTON *Prior of Chriſt-*

Chriſt-Church in *Canterbury*; who were preſently ſent ouer into *France*. In the meane ſpace, LIONELL Biſhop of *Concordia*, was ſent as *Nuntio* from *Pope* ALEXANDER the ſixth to both Kings, to mooue a Peace betweene them. For *Pope* ALEXANDER finding himſelfe pent and lockt vp, by a League and Aſſociation of the Principall States of *Italie*, that hee could not make his way for the aduancement of his owne *Houſe* (which he immoderatly thirſted after) was deſirous to trouble the waters in *Italie*, that hee might fiſh the better; caſting the Net, not out of Saint PETERS, but out of BORGIA'S Barke. And doubting leſt the feares fom *England*, might ſtay the *French Kings* voyage into *Italie*, diſpatched this *Biſhop* to compoſe all matters betweene the two Kings, if he could. Who firſt repaired to the *French King*, and finding him well inclined (as he conceiued) tooke on his Iourney towards *England*, and found the *Engliſh Ambaſſadors* at *Calice*, on their way towards the *French King*. After ſome conference with them, he was in Honourable manner tranſported ouer into *England*, where he had audience of the King. But notwithſtanding hee had a good *Ominous name* to haue made a Peace, nothing followed. For in the meane time, the purpoſe of the *French King* to marry the Ducheſſe could be no longer diſſembled. Wherefore the *Engliſh Ambaſſadors* (finding how things went) took their leaue, and returned. And the *Prior* alſo was warned from hence, to depart out of *England*. Who when he turned his backe (more like a *Pedant*, then an *Ambaſſadour*) diſperſed a bitter *Libell*, in Latine Verſe, againſt the King; vnto which the King (though hee had nothing of a *Pedant*) yet was content to cauſe an anſwer to bee made in like Verſe; and that as ſpeaking in his owne Perſon, but in a ſtyle of *Scorne* and *Sport*. About this time alſo was borne the Kings ſecond Son

HENRY,

HENRY, who afterward reigned. And ſoone after followed the ſolemnization of the marriage betweene CHARLES, and ANNE *Ducheſſe* of *Britaine*, with whom he receiued the *Duchie* of *Britaine* as her Dowry; the Daughter of MAXIMILIAN being a little before ſent home. Which when it came to the Eares of MAXIMILIAN (who would neuer beleeue it till it was done, being euer the Principall in deceiuing himſelfe, though in this the *French King* did very handſomely ſecond it) and tumbling it ouer and ouer in his thoughts, that he ſhould at one blowe (with ſuch a double ſcorne) be defeated, both of the marriage of his daughter, and his owne (vpon both which hee had fixed high imaginations;) he loſt all patience, and caſting off the Reſpects fit to be continued betweene great Kings (euen when their bloud is hotteſt, and moſt riſen) fell to bitter *Inuectiues* againſt the perſon and Actions of the *French King*. And (by how much he was the leſſe able to do, talking ſo much the more) ſpake all the Iniuries he could deuiſe of CHARLES, ſaying; That he was the moſt perfidious man vpon the Earth, and that he had made a marriage compounded between an *Aduoutry* and a *Rape*: which was done (he ſaid) by the iuſt iudgement of God; to the end, that (the *Nullitie* thereof being ſo appparant to all the World) the Race of ſo vnworthy a perſon might not reigne in *France*. And forthwith he ſent *Ambaſſadors* as well to the King of *England*, as to the King of *Spaine*, to incite them to Warre, and to treat a *League* offenſiue againſt *France*, promiſing to concurre with great Forces of his owne. Hereupon the King of *England* (going neuertheleſſe his owne way) called a *Parliament*, it being the ſeuenth yeere of his Reigne; and the firſt day of opening thereof (ſitting vnder his *Cloth* of *Eſtate*) ſpake himſelfe vnto his Lords, and Commons in this manner.

My

MY Lords, and you the Commons; When I purpoſed to make a Warre in Britaine by my Lieutenant, I made declaration thereof to you by my Chancellor. But now that I meane to make a Warre vpon France in Perſon, I will declare it to you my Selfe. That Warre, was to defend another mans Right, but this is to recouer our owne; And that ended by Accident, but we hope this ſhall end in Victory.

The French King troubles the Chriſtian World. That which he hath, is not his owne, and yet he ſeeketh more. He hath inueſted himſelfe of Britaine. Hee maintaineth the Rebels in Flanders; and he threatneth Italy. For Our Selues, he hath proceeded from Diſſimulation, to Neglect; and from Neglect to Contumely. He hath aſſayled our Confederates: He denieth our Tribute: In a word, he ſeekes Warre. So did not his Father, but ſought Peace at Our Hands; and ſo perhaps will hee, when good Counſell or Time, ſhall make him ſee as much as his Father did.

Meane while; let Vs make his Ambition, our Aduantage; and let vs not ſtand vpon a few Crownes of Tribute, or Acknowledgement, but (by the fauour of Almighty GOD) try Our Right for the Crowne of France it ſelfe; remembring that there hath beene A

French King Prisoner in *England*, and a King of *England* Crowned in *France*. *Our* Confederates *are not diminished.* Burgundie *is in a mightier Hand then euer, and neuer more prouoked.* Britaine *cannot helpe vs, but it may hurt them. New* Acquests *are more* Burthen, *then* Strength. *The* Male-contents *of his owne* Kingdome *haue not beene Base, Popular, nor Titularie* Impostors, *but of an higher Nature. The King of* Spaine (*doubt yee not*) *will ioyne with vs, not knowing where the* French Kings *Ambition will stay. Our Holy* Father *the* Pope, *likes no* Tramontanes *in* Italie. *But howsoeuer it bee, this Matter of* Confederates, *is rather to bee thought on, then reckoned on. For* GOD *forbid, but* England *should bee able to get Reason of* France, *without a* Second.

At the Battailes *of* Cressy, Poictiers, Agent-Court, *wee were of our selues.* France *hath much people, and few Souldiours. They haue no stable Bands of Foot. Some good Horse they haue; but those are* Forces, *which are least fit for a Defensiue* VVarre, *where the Actions are in the* Assailants *choice. It was our* Discords *onely, that lost* France; *and* (*by the Power of* GOD)

it is the good Peace *which wee now enioy, that will recouer it.* God *hath hitherto blessed my* Sword. *I haue in this time that I haue Reigned, weeded out my bad Subiects, and tryed my good. My People and I know one another; which breeds Confidence. And if there should bee any bad Bloud left in the* Kingdome, *an Honourable* Forrain Warre *will vent it, or purifie it. In this great* Businesse, *let me haue your Aduice, and Aid. If any of you were to make his Sonne* Knight, *you might haue aid of your* Tenants *by* Law. *This concernes the* Knighthood *and* Spurres *of the* Kingdome, *whereof I am* Father; *and bound not only to seeke to maintaine it, but to aduance it. But for Matter of* Treasure, *let it not be taken from the Poorest Sort; but from those, to whom the Benefit of the Warre may redound.* France *is no Wilderneſſe: and I, that professe Good Husbandrie, hope to make the Warre (after the Beginnings) to pay it selfe. Goe together in* Gods *Name, and loose no time; for I haue called this* Parliament *wholly for this Cause.*

Thus

THus ſpake the King; But for all this, though hee ſhewed great forwardneſſe for a Warre, not onely to his *Parliament* and *Court*, but to his *Priuie-Councell* likewiſe, (except the two *Biſhops* and a few more) yet neuertheleſſe in his ſecret intentions, hee had no purpoſe to goe through with any Warre, vpon *France*. But the truth was, that hee did but traffique with that Warre, to make his *Returne* in money. Hee knew well, that *France* was now entire, and at vnitie with it ſelfe, and neuer ſo mightie many yeares before. Hee ſaw by the taſte that he had of his Forces ſent into *Britaine*, that the *French* knew well enough how to make warre with the *Engliſh*; by not putting things to the hazard of a *Battaile*, but wearing them by long Sieges of *Townes*, and ſtrong fortified Encampings. IAMES the Third of *Scotland*, (his true friend, and *Confederate*) gone; and IAMES the Fourth (that had ſucceeded) wholly at the deuotion of *France*, and ill affected towards him. As for the Coniunctions of FERDINANDO of *Spaine*, and MAXIMILIAN; hee could make no foundation vpon them. For the One had *Power*, and not *Will*; and the Other hath *Will*, and not *Power*. Beſides that, FERDINANDO had but newly taken breath, from the Warre with the *Moores*; and marchanded at this time with *France*, for the reſtoring of the Counties of *Ruſſignon* and *Perpignian*, oppignorated to the *French*. Neither was hee out of feare of the *Diſcontents*, and ill bloud within the *Realme*; which hauing vſed alwaies to repreſſe and appeaſe in perſon, hee was loth they ſhould find him at a diſtance beyond Sea, and engaged in warre. Finding therfore the Inconueniences and Difficulties in the proſecution of a Warre, hee caſt with himſelfe how to compaſſe two things. The one, how by the declaration, and inchoation of a warre, to make his *Profit*. The other, how to come off from the warre,

with ſauing of his *Honour*. For *Profit*, it was to bee made two wayes; vpon his *Subiects* for the *Warre*, and vpon his *Enemies* for the *Peace*; like a good *Merchant*, that maketh his gaine, both vpon the Commodities *Exported*, and *Imported* backe againe. For the point of *Honour*, wherein hee might ſuffer, for giuing ouer the Warre; hee conſidered well, that as hee could not truſt vpon the aides of FERDINANDO and MAXIMILIAN for ſupports of Warre: ſo the impuiſſance of the one, and the double proceeding of the other, lay faire for him for occaſions to accept of *Peace*. Theſe things hee did wiſely fore-ſee, and did as artificially conduct, wherby all things fell into his lappe, as hee deſired.

For as for the *Parliament*, it preſently tooke fire, being affectionate (of old) the Warre of *France*; and deſirous afreſh to repaire the diſhonour, they thought the King ſuſtained by the loſſe of *Britaine*. Therfore they aduiſed the King (with great alacritie) to vndertake the Warre of *France*. And although the *Parliament* conſiſted of the *Firſt* and *Second Nobilitie* (together with principall *Citizens* and Townesmen) yet worthily and iuſtly reſpecting more the People (whoſe deputies they were) then their owne priuate Perſons, and finding by the Lord *Chancellours* ſpeech the Kings inclination that way; they conſented that *Commiſſioners* ſhould goe forth, for the gathering and leuying of a *Beneuolence*, from the more able ſort. This *Tax* (called *Beneuolence*) was deuiſed by EDWARD the Fourth, for which hee ſuſtained much Enuie. It was aboliſhed by RICHARD the Third by *Act* of *Parliament*, to ingratiate himſelfe with the people; and it was now reuiued by the King, but with conſent of *Parliament*, for ſo it was not in the time of King EDWARD the Fourth. But by this way hee raiſed exceeding great ſummes. Inſomuch

as

as the Citie of *London* (in thoſe dayes) contributed nine thouſand pounds and better; and that chiefly leuied vpon the wealthier ſort. There is a Tradition of a *Dilemma*, that Biſhop MORTON the *Chancellour* vſed, to raiſe vp the *Beneuolence* to higher Rates; and ſome called it his *Forke*, and ſome his *Crotch*. For hee had couched an *Article* in the Inſtructions to the *Commiſſioners*, who were to leuie the *Beneuolence*; *That if they met with any that were ſparing, they ſhould tell them, That they muſt needs haue, becauſe they laid vp; and if they were ſpenders, they muſt needs haue, becauſe it was ſeene in their Port, and manner of liuing.* So neither kinde came amiſſe.

This *Parliament* was meerly a *Parliament* of Warre; for it was in Subſtance, but a declaration of Warre againſt *France* and *Scotland*, with ſome *Statutes* conducing thereunto; As the ſeuere puniſhing of *Mortpayes*, and keeping backe of *Souldiours* wages in Captaines. The like ſeueritie for the departure of *Souldiours* without licence; Strengthening of the *Common-Law* in fauour of *Protections*, for thoſe that were in the Kings ſeruice; And the ſetting the gate open and wide, for men to ſell or *Morgage* their lands without *Fines* for *Alienation*, to furniſh themſelues with money for the Warre; And laſtly, the voiding of all *Scottiſhmen* out of *England*. There was alſo a *Statute*, for the diſperſing of the *Standard* of the *Exchequer*, throughout *England*; thereby to ſize *Weights* and *Meaſures*, and two or three more of leſſe importance.

After the *Parliament* was broken vp (which laſted not long) the King went on with his Preparations for the Warre of *France*; yet neglected not in the meane time the affaires of MAXIMILIAN, for the quieting of *Flanders*, and reſtoring him to his authoritie amongſt his *Subiects*. For at that time, the Lord of *Rauenſtein* being not onely a *Subiect* rebelled, but a

Seruant

Seruant reuolted (and ſo much the more malicious and violent, by the aide of *Bruges* and *Gaunt*) had taken the Towne, and both the Caſtles of *Sluice*; as wee ſaid before.

And hauing (by the commoditie of the Hauen) gotten together certaine Ships and Barkes, fell to a kind of *Pyraticall* Trade; robbing and ſpoyling, and taking Priſoners the Ships and Veſſels of all Nations, that paſſed alongſt that Coaſt, towards the *Mart* of *Antwerpe*, or into any part of *Brabant*, *Zeland*, or *Freezland*; being euer well victualled from *Picardie*, beſides the commoditie of Victuals from *Sluice*, and the Countrey adjacent, and the auailes of his owne *Prizes*. The *French* aſſiſted him ſtill vnder-hand; and hee likewiſe (as all men doe, that haue beene of both ſides) thought himſelfe not ſafe, except hee depended vpon a third *Perſon*.

There was a ſmall Towne ſome two miles from *Bruges*, towards the Sea, called *Dam*; which was a Fort and Approch to *Bruges*, and had a relation alſo to *Sluice*. This Towne the King of the *Romans* had attempted often, (not for any worth of the Towne in it ſelfe, but becauſe it might choake *Bruges*, and cut it off from the Sea) and euer failed. But therewith the *Duke of Saxonie* came downe into *Flanders*, taking vpon him the Perſon of an *Vmpire*, to compoſe things betweene MAXIMILIAN and his Subiects; but being (indeed) faſt and aſſured to MAXIMILIAN. Vpon this Pretext of *Neutralitie* and Treatie, hee repaired to *Bruges*; deſiring of the *States* of *Bruges*, to enter peaceably into their Towne, with a Retinue of ſome number of men of Armes, fit for his Eſtate; being ſomewhat the more (as hee ſaid) the better to guard him in a Countrey, that was vp in Armes: and bearing them in hand, that hee was to communicate with them of diuers matters of great importance, for

their

their good. Which hauing obtained of them, hee ſent his Carriages and *Harbingers* before him, to prouide his Lodging. So that his *Men* of *Warre* entred the Citie in good Array, but in peaceable manner, and he followed. They that went before, enquired ſtill for *Innes* and Lodgings, as if they would haue reſted there all Night, and ſo went on, till they came to the Gate, that leadeth directly towards *Dam*; and they of *Bruges* only gazed vpon them and gaue them paſſage. The *Captaines* and inhabitants of *Dam* alſo ſuſpected no harme, from any that paſſed through *Bruges*; and diſcouering Forces a farre off, ſuppoſed they had beene ſome *Succours*, that were come from their Friends, knowing ſome Dangers towards them. And ſo perceiuing nothing but well, till it was too late, ſuffered them to enter their Towne. By which kinde of *Sleight* rather then *Stratageme*, the Towne of *Dam* was taken and the Town of *Bruges* ſhrewdly blockt vp, wherby they tooke great diſcouragement.

The *Duke* of *Saxonie* hauing wonne the Towne of *Dam*, ſent immediatly to the King to let him know that it was *Sluice* chiefely, and the Lord RAVENSTEIN, that kept the Rebellion of *Flanders* in life; And that if it pleaſed the King to beſiege it by Sea, he alſo would beſiege it by Land, and ſo cut out the *Core* of thoſe Warres.

The King willing to vphold the Authoritie of MAXIMILIAN (the better to hold *France* in awe) and being likewiſe ſued vnto by his *Merchants*, for that the Seas were much infeſted by the Barkes of the Lord RAVENSTEIN; ſent ſtraightwayes Sir EDWARD POYNINGS, a valiant man, and of good ſeruice, with twelue Ships, well furniſhed with Souldiers and Artillerie, to cleare the Seas, and to beſiege *Sluice* on that part. The *Engliſhmen* did not only coupe vp the Lord RAVENSTEIN, that hee ſtirred

ſtirred nor, and likewiſe hold in ſtrait Siege the Maritime part of the Towne; but alſo aſſailed one of the Caſtles, and renewed the aſſault ſo for twentie dayes ſpace (iſſuing ſtill out of their Ships at the Ebbe) as they made great ſlaughter of them of the Caſtle; who continually fought with them to repulſe them, though of the *Engliſh* part alſo were ſlaine a brother of the *Earle* of *Oxfords*, and ſome fiftie more.

But the *Siege* ſtill continuing more and more ſtrait, and both the Caſtles (which were the principall ſtrength of the Towne) being diſtreſſed, the one by the *Duke* of *Saxonie*, and the other by the *Engliſh*; and a Bridge of boats, which the Lord RAVENSTEIN had made betweene both Caſtles, whereby Succours and Releefe might paſſe from the one to the other, being on a night ſet on fire by the *Engliſh*, hee deſpairing to hold the Towne, yeelded (at the laſt) the Caſtles to the *Engliſh*, and the Towne to the *Duke* of *Saxonie*, by compoſition. Which done, the *Duke* of *Saxonie* and Sir EDWARD POYNINGS treated with them of *Bruges*, to ſubmit themſelues to MAXIMILIAN their Lord; which after ſome time they did, paying (in ſome good part) the Charge of the Warre, whereby the *Almaines* and forraigne Succours were diſmiſſed. The example of *Bruges*, other of the *Reuolted Townes* followed; ſo that MAXIMILIAN grew to be out of danger, but (as his manner was to handle matters) neuer out of neceſſitie. And Sir EDWARD POYNINGS (after he had continued at *Sluice* ſome good while, till all things were ſetled) returned vnto the King, being then before *Bulloigne*.

Somewhat about this time came Letters from FERDINANDO, and ISABELLA, King and Queene of *Spaine*; ſignifying the finall conqueſt of

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Granada from the *Moores*; which action in it selfe so worthie, King FERDINANDO (whose manner was neuer to lose any vertue for the shewing) had expressed and displayed in his letters at large, with all the particularities, and religious *Punctoes* and Ceremonies, that were obserued in the reception of that *Citie* and *Kingdome*: Shewing amongst other things, That the King would not by any meanes in person enter the Citie, vntill hee had first aloofe seene the *Crosse* set vp vpon the greater *Tower* of *Granada*, whereby it became *Christian* ground: That likewise before hee would enter, he did *Homage* to God aboue, pronouncing by an *Herauld* from the *Height* of that Tower, that hee did acknowledge to haue recouered that *Kingdome*, by the helpe of GOD *Almightie* and the glorious *Virgin*, and the vertuous Apostle Saint IAMES, and the holy Father INNOCENT the Eight, together with the aides and seruices of his *Prelates*, *Nobles*, and *Commons*: That yet he stirred not from his *Campe*, till hee had seene a little Armie of *Martyrs*, to the number of seuen hundred and more *Christians* (that had liued in bonds and seruitude as *Slaues* to the *Moores*) passe before his Eyes, singing a *Psalme* for their redemption, and that he had giuen *Tribute* vnto GOD by Almes, and releefe, extended to them all, for his admission into the Citie. These things were in the Letters, with many more Ceremonies of a kind of *Holy Ostentation*.

The King euer willing to put himselfe into the *Consort* or *Quire* of all religious Actions, and naturally affecting much the King of *Spaine*, (as farre as one King can affect another) partly for his vertues, and partly for a counterpoise to *France*; vpon the receipt of these Letters, sent all his *Nobles* and *Prelates*, that were about the *Court*, together with the *Maior* and *Aldermen* of *London*, in great solemnitie to the Church

of *Pauls*; there to heare a Declaration from the Lord *Chancellor*, now *Cardinall*. When they were aſſembled, the *Cardinall* (ſtanding vpon the vppermoſt ſtep or Halfe-paſe before the *Quire*; and all the *Nobles*, *Prelates*, and *Gouernours* of the Citie at the foot of the Staires) made a Speech to them; letting them know, that they were aſſembled in that Conſecrate place, to ſing vnto God a *New-ſong*; For that (ſaid he) theſe many yeares the *Chriſtians* haue not gayned new ground or Territorie vpon the *Infidels*, nor enlarged and ſet further the *Bounds* of the *Chriſtian-world*: But this is now done, by the proweſſe and deuotion of FERDINANDO and ISABELLA, Kings of *Spaine*; Who haue (to their immortall Honour) recouered the great and rich Kingdome of *Granada*, and the populous and mightie Citie, of the ſame name, from the *Moores*, hauing beene in poſſeſſion thereof by the ſpace of ſeuen hundred yeares, and more. For which, this Aſſembly and all *Chriſtians* are to render laud and thankes vnto God, and to celebrate this noble Act of the King of *Spaine*; who in this is not only *Victorious*, but *Apoſtolicall*, in the gaining of new Prouinces to the *Chriſtian* Faith. And the rather, for that this Victorie and Conqueſt is obtained, without much effuſion of bloud. Whereby it is to bee hoped, that there ſhall bee gained, not only new Territorie, but infinite ſoules, to the Church of *Chriſt*; whom the *Almightie* (as it ſeemes) would haue liue to bee conuerted. Herewithall hee did relate ſome of the moſt memorable Particulars of the Warre and Victorie. And after his Speech ended, the whole aſſemblie went ſolemnely in *Proceſſion*, and *Te Deum* was ſung.

Immediately after the Solemnitie, the King kept his *May Day* at his Palace of *Sheine*, now *Richmond*. Where to warme the blood of his *Nobilitie*, and *Gal-*

lants,

lants, againſt the warre, hee kept great Triumphs of *Iuſting* and *Tourney*, during all that Moneth. In which ſpace it ſo fell out, that *Sir* IAMES PARKER, and HVGH VAVGHAN, (one of the Kings Gentlemen-Vſhers) hauing had a Controuerſie touching certaine *Armes*, that the *King* at *Armes* had giuen VAVGHAN, were appointed to runne ſome *Courſes* one againſt an other. And by accident of a faultie Helmet, that PARKER had on, he was ſtricken into the mouth at the firſt courſe, ſo that his tongue was borne vnto the hinder part of his head, in ſuch ſort that hee died preſently vpon the Place. Which becauſe of the Controuerſie precedent, and the Death that followed, was accounted amongſt the *Vulgar*, as a *Combate* or Tryall of Right. The King, towards the end of this Summer, hauing put his Forces, wherewith hee meant to inuade *France*, in readineſſe, (but ſo as they were not yet met or muſtered together) ſent VRSWICK (now made his *Almoner*) and *Sir* IOHN RISLEY, to MAXIMILIAN; to let him know, that hee was in Armes, ready to paſſe the Seas into *France*, and did but expect to heare from him, when and where he did appoint to ioyne with him, according to his promiſe made vnto him by COVNTEBALT, his *Ambaſſador*.

The *Engliſh Ambaſſadors*, hauing repaired to MAXIMILIAN, did finde his power and promiſe at a very great diſtance; hee being vtterly vnprouided of *Men*, *Money*, and *Armes*, for any ſuch enterprize. For MAXIMILIAN, hauing neither *Wing* to flie on (for that his Patrimony of *Auſtria* was not in his hands, his Father beeing then liuing: And on the other ſide, his *Matrimonial* Territories of *Flanders* being partly in Dowre to his *Mother-in-law*, and partly not ſeruiceable, in reſpect of the late *Rebellions*) was thereby deſtitute of meanes to enter into Warre. The *Ambaſ-*

ſadors ſaw this well, but wiſely thought fit to aduertiſe the King thereof, rather than to returne themſelues till the Kings further pleaſure were knowne: The rather, for that MAXIMILIAN himſelfe ſpake as great, as euer hee did before, and entertained them with dilatory Anſwers; ſo as the formall part of their *Ambaſſage* might well warrant and require their further ſtay. The King hereupon (who doubted as much before, and ſaw through his buſineſſe from the beginning) wrote backe to the *Ambaſſadors*, commending their diſcretion in not returning, and willing them to keepe the State wherein they found MAXIMILIAN, as a Secret, till they heard further from him; And meane while went on with his Voyage Royall for *France*, ſuppreſſing for a time this Aduertiſement touching MAXIMILIAN's pouertie and diſabilitie.

By this time, was drawne together a great and puiſſant Armie into the Citie of *London*. In which were THOMAS *Marqueſſe Dorſet*, THOMAS *Earle* of *Arundell*, THOMAS *Earle* of *Derby*, GEORGE *Earle* of *Shrewsbury*, EDMOND *Earle* of *Suffolke*, EDWARD *Earle* of *Deuonſhire*, GEORGE *Earle* of *Kent*, the *Earle* of *Eſſex*, THOMAS *Earle* of *Ormond*, with a great number of *Barons*, *Knights*, and Principall *Gentlemen*; and amongſt them, RICHARD THOMAS, much noted for the braue Troupes that hee brought out of *Wales*; The Armie riſing in the whole to the number of fiue and twenty thouſand *Foot*, and ſixteene hundred *Horſe*. Ouer which, the King (conſtant in his accuſtomed truſt and imployment) made IASPER *Duke* of *Bedford*, and IOHN *Earle* of *Oxford*, Generals vnder his owne Perſon. The ninth of *September*, in the eighth yeere of his Reigne, he departed from *Greenwich*, towards the Sea; all men wondring, that hee tooke that Seaſon (beeing

ſo

ſo neare winter) to begin the Warre; and ſome thereupon gathering it was a Signe, that the Warre would not bee long. Neuertheleſſe, the King gaue out the contrarie, thus: *That he intending not to make a Summer buſineſſe of it, but a reſolute Warre (without terme prefixed) vntill hee recouered* France; *it skilled not much when hee began it: eſpecially, hauing* Calice *at his backe; where he might winter, if the reaſon of the Warre ſo required.* The ſixt of *October*, hee imbarqued at *Sandwich*; and the ſame day tooke land at *Calice*: which was the *Rendez vous*, where all his Forces were aſſigned to meet. But in this his Iourney towards the Sea ſide (wherein, for the cauſe that we ſhall now ſpeake of, he houered ſo much the longer) hee had receiued Letters from the Lord CORDES: who the hotter he was againſt the *Engliſh* in time of *Warre*, had the more credit in a Negociation of *Peace*; and beſides was held a man open, and of good faith. In which Letters there was made an Ouerture of Peace from the *French King*, with ſuch Conditions, as were ſomewhat to the Kings Taſte: but this was carried at the firſt with wonderfull ſecrecie. The King was no ſooner come to *Calice*, but the calme windes of *Peace* began to blow. For, firſt, the *Engliſh Ambaſſadors* returned out of *Flanders* from MAXIMILIAN; and certified the King, that he was not to hope for any aide from MAXIMILIAN, for that he was altogether improuided. His will was good; but he lacked mony. And this was made knowne, and ſpread through the Army. And although the *Engliſh* were therewithall nothing diſmaied; and that it bee the manner of *Souldiers, vpon bad newes to ſpeake the more brauely*: yet neuertheleſſe, it was a kind of *Preparatiue* to a Peace. Inſtantly in the neck of this (as the King had laid it) came newes that FERDINANDO and ISABELLA, Kings of *Spaine*, had concluded a Peace with King CHARLES; and

and that CHARLES had reſtored vnto them the Counties of *Ruſsignon* and *Perpignian*, which formerly were *Morgaged* by IOHN King of *Arragon* (FERDINANDOES Father) vnto *France*, for three hundred thouſand Crownes: which debt was alſo, vpon this Peace, by CHARLES clearely releaſed. This came alſo handſomely to put on the Peace: both becauſe ſo potent a *Confederate* was fallen off, and becauſe it was a faire example of a Peace bought; ſo as the King ſhould not bee the ſole Merchant in this *Peace*. Vpon theſe *Aires* of *Peace*, the King was content, that the Biſhop of Exceſter, and the Lord DAVBIGNEY (Gouernour of *Calice*) ſhould giue a meeting vnto the Lord CORDES, for the *Treatie* of a *Peace*. But himſelfe neuertheleſſe, and his Armie, the fifteenth of *October*, remooued from *Calice*, and in foure dayes march ſate him downe before *Bulloigne*.

During this Siege of *Bulloigne* (which continued neare a Moneth) there paſſed no memorable Action, nor Accident of Warre: onely Sir IOHN SAVAGE, a valiant Captaine, was ſlaine, riding about the Walls of the Towne, to take a View. The Towne was both well fortified, and well manned; yet it was diſtreſſed, and ready for an Aſſault. Which if it had beene giuen (as was thought) would haue coſt much Bloud; but yet the Towne would haue beene carried in the end. Meane while, a Peace was concluded by the *Commiſſioners*, to continue for both the Kings Liues. Where there was no Article of importance; being in effect, rather a *Bargaine*, than a *Treatie*. For, all things remayned as they were: ſaue that there ſhould bee payed to the King ſeuen hundred fortie fiue thouſand Duckats in preſent, for his Charges in that Iourney; and fiue and twentie thouſand Crownes yearely, for his Charges ſuſtained

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in the Aides of the *Britons*. For wich *Annuall*, though he had MAXIMILIAN bound before for those Charges; yet hee counted the alteration of the Hand, as much as the principall Debt. And besides, it was left somewhat indefinitely, when it should determine or expire: which made the *English* esteeme it as a *Tribute*, carried vnder faire Tearmes. And the truth is, it was paid both to the King, and to his Sonne King HENRY the Eight, longer than it could continue vpon any computation of Charges. There were also assigned by the *French King*, vnto al the King's principal *Counsellors*, great *Pensions*, besides rich Gifts for the present. Which whether the King did permit, to saue his owne Purse from Rewards, or to communicate the Enuie of a Businesse, that was displeasing to his People, was diuersly interpreted. For certainly, the King had no great fancie to owne this *Peace*. And therefore, a little before it was concluded, he had vnder-hand procured some of his best *Captaines*, and *Men of Warre*, to aduise him to a *Peace* vnder their Hands, in an earnest manner, in the Nature of a *Supplication*. But, the truth is, this *Peace* was welcome to both Kings. To CHARLES, for that it assured vnto him the possession of *Britaine*, and freed the enterprise of *Naples*. To HENRY, for that it filled his Coffers; and that hee foresaw at that time a storme of inward troubles comming vpon him; which presently after brake forth. But it gaue no lesse discontent to the *Nobilitie*, and principall persons of the *Armie*; who had many of them sold or engaged their estates, vpon the hopes of the Warre. They stucke not to say, *That the King cared not to plume his Nobilitie and People, to feather himselfe.* And some made themselues merrie with that the *King* had said in Parliament: *That after the Warre was once begun, he doubted not but to make it pay it selfe*; saying hee had kept promise.

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Hauing risen from *Bulloigne*, hee went to *Calice*, where hee stayed some time. From whence also hee wrote Letters, (which was a Courtesie that hee sometimes vsed) to the *Maior* of *London*, and *Aldermen* his brethren; halfe bragging, what great summes hee had obtayned for the *Peace*; knowing well, that full *Cofers* of the *King*, is euer good Newes to *London*. And better Newes it would haue beene, if their *Benevolence* had beene but a *Loane*. And vpon the seuenteenth of *December* following, hee returned to *Westminster*, where he kept his *Christmasse*.

Soone after the Kings returne, he sent the *Order* of the *Garter*, to ALPHONSO *Duke* of *Calabria*, eldest sonne to FERDINANDO King of *Naples*; An honour sought by that *Prince*, to hold him vp in the eyes of the *Italians*: Who, expecting the Armes of CHARLES, made great account of the Amitie of *England*, for a Bridle to *France*. It was receiued by ALPHONSO, with all the Ceremonie and Pomp that could bee deuised; as things vse to be carried, that are intended for Opinion. It was sent by VRSWICK: vpon whom the King bestowed this *Ambassage*, to helpe him, after many drie Employments.

AT this time the King began againe to be haunted with *Sprites*, by the *Magicke* and curious Arts of the *Lady* MARGARET: Who raysed vp the *Ghost* of RICHARD, Duke of *Yorke*, second Sonne to King EDWARD the Fourth, to walke and vex the King. This was a finer *Counterfeit Stone*, than LAMBERT SYMNELL, better done, and worne vpon greater hands; being graced after, with the wearing of a King of *France*, and a King of *Scotland*, not of a *Dutchesse* of *Burgundie* onely. And for SIMNELL, there was not much in him, more than that

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hee was a handſome *Boy*, and did not ſhame his *Robes*. But this *Youth* (of whom wee are now to ſpeake) was ſuch a *Mercuriall*, as the like hath ſeldome beene knowne, and could make his owne Part, if at any time hee chanced to bee out. Wherefore, this being one of the ſtrangeſt Examples of a *Perſonation*, that euer was in *Elder* or *Later* Times ; it deſerueth to bee diſcouered, and related at the full: Although the Kings manner of ſhewing things, by Peeces and by *Darke Lights*, hath ſo muffled it, that it hath left it almoſt as a *Myſterie* to this day.

The *Lady* MARGARET (whom the Kings Friends called IVNO, becauſe ſhee was to him as IVNO was to ÆNEAS, ſtirring both *Heauen* and *Hell*, to doe him miſchiefe) for a foundation of her particular Practices againſt him, did continually, by all meanes poſſible, nouriſh, maintaine, and diuulge the flying Opinion, That RICHARD, *Duke* of *Yorke* (ſecond Sonne to EDWARD the Fourth) was not murthered in the *Tower* (as was giuen out) but ſaued aliue ; For that thoſe, who were imployed in that barbarous Fact, hauing deſtroyed the elder Brother, were ſtricken with remorſe and compaſſion towards the younger, and ſet him priuily at libertie, to ſeeke his Fortune. This *Lure* ſhee caſt abroad, thinking that this Fame and Beleefe (together with the freſh Example of LAMBERT SIMNELL) would draw at one time, or other, ſome *Birds* to ſtrike vpon it. Shee vſed likewiſe a further diligence, not committing all to *Chance*. For, ſhe had ſome ſecret *Eſpials* (like to the *Turks Commiſſioners* for Children of *Tribute*) to looke abroad for handſome and graceſull Youths, to make PLANTAGENETS, and *Dukes* of *Yorke*. At the laſt ſhe did light on one, in whom all things met, as one would wiſh, to ſerue her turne, for a *Counterfeit* of RICHARD, Duke of *York*.

This was PERKIN WARBECK, whose Aduentures wee shall now describe. For, first, the yeares agreed well. Secondly, hee was a *Youth* of fine fauour and shape. But, more than that, hee had such a craftie and bewitching fashion, both to mooue *Pitie*, and to induce *Beleefe*, as was like a kind of *Fascination*, and *Inchantment*, to those that saw him, or heard him. Thirdly, he had beene from his Child-hood such a *Wanderer*, or (as the King called him) such a *Land-loper*, as it was extreme hard to hunt out his *Nest* and *Parents*. Neither againe could any man, by companie or conuersing with him, be able to say or detect well what hee was; he did so flit from place to place. Lastly, there was a *Circumstance* (which is mentioned by one that wrote in the same time) that is very likely to haue made somewhat to the matter; which is, That King EDWARD the Fourth was his *God-father*. Which, as it is somewhat suspicious, for a wanton *Prince* to become Gossip in so meane a House; and might make a man thinke, that hee might indeed haue in him some base Bloud of the House of YORKE: so at the least (though that were not) it might giue the occasion to the *Boy*, in being called *King* EDWARDS *God-sonne*, or perhaps in sport, *King* EDWARDS *Sonne*, to entertaine such Thoughts into his Head. For, *Tutor* hee had none (for ought that appeares) as LAMBERT SIMNELL had, vntill hee came vnto the *Lady* MARGARET, who instructed him.

Thus therefore it came to passe: There was a Townes-man of *Tourney*, that had borne office in that Towne, whose name was IOHN OSBECKE, a *Conuert-Iew*, married to CATHERINE DE FARO; whose businesse drew him, to liue for a time with his wife at *London*, in *King* EDWARD the fourths daies. During which time hee had a sonne by her: and being knowne in Court, the King either out of a religious

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Nobleneſſe, becauſe hee was a *Conuert*, or vpon ſome priuate acquaintance, did him the Honour, as to bee *Godfather* to his child, and named him PETER. But, afterwards, proouing a dainty and effeminate *Youth*, hee was commonly called by the *Diminutiue* of his name; PETER-KIN, or PERKIN. For, as for the name of WARBECKE, it was giuen him when they did but gueſſe at it, before examinations had been taken. But yet hee had been ſo much talked on by that name; as it ſtucke by him after his true name of OSBECKE was knowne. While hee was a young child his Parents returned with him to *Tourney*. Then was hee placed in a houſe of a kinſman of his, called IOHN STENBECK, at *Antwerpe*: and ſo roued vp and down betweene *Antwerp* and *Tourney*, and other Townes of *Flanders*, for a good time; liuing much in *Engliſh Companie*, and hauing the *Engliſh* Tongue perfect. In which time, beeing growne a comely *Youth*, hee was brought by ſome of the eſpialls of the Lady MARGARET vnto her Preſence. Who viewing him well, and ſeeing that hee had a Face and perſonage, that would beare a noble fortune: And finding him otherwiſe of a fine ſpirit, and winning behauiour; thought ſhe had now found a curious *Peece* of *Marble*, to carue out an *Image* of a *Duke of Yorke*. Shee kept him by her a great while; but, with extreme ſecrecy. The while, ſhee inſtructed him, by many *Cabinet-Conferences*. Firſt, in *Princely* behauiour and geſture; teaching him how hee ſhould keepe *State*, and yet with a modeſt ſenſe of his misfortunes. Then ſhee informed him of all the circumſtances and particulars, that concerned the Perſon of RICHARD Duke of *Yorke*, which hee was to act: Deſcribing vnto him the *Perſonages*, *Lineaments*, and *Features* of the King and Queen, his pretended Parents; and of his Brother, and Siſters, and diuers others, that were neereſt him in his Child-

hood; together with all paſſages, ſome ſecret, ſome common, that were fit for a Childs memorie, vntill the death of King EDWARD. Then ſhe added the particulars of the time, from the Kings death, vntill hee and his brother were committed to the Tower, aſwell during the time hee was abroad, as while he was in *Sanctuarie*. As for the times while hee was in the *Tower*, and the manner of his Brothers death, and his owne eſcape; ſhee knew they were things that a verie few could controll. And therfore ſhe taught him, onely to tell a ſmooth and likely *Tale* of thoſe matters; warning him not to vary from it. It was agreed likewiſe betweene them, what account he ſhould giue of his *Peregrination* abroad; intermixing many things which were true, and ſuch as they knew others could teſtifie, for the credit of the reſt: but, ſtill making them to hang together, with the *Part* hee was to play. Shee taught him likewiſe how to auoid ſundry captious and tempting queſtions, which were like to bee asked of him. But, in this ſhee found him of himſelfe ſo nimble and ſhifting, as ſhee truſted much to his owne wit and readineſſe; and therefore laboured the leſſe in it. Laſtly, ſhee rayſed his thoughts with ſome preſent rewards, and further promiſes; ſetting before him chiefly the glorie, and fortune of a Crowne, if things went well; and a ſure refuge to her *Court*, if the worſt ſhould fall. After ſuch time as ſhee thought hee was perfect in his *Leſſon*, ſhee began to caſt with her ſelfe from what coaſt this *Blazing-ſtarre* ſhould firſt appeare, and at what time it muſt bee vpon the *Horizon* of *Ireland*; for, there had the like *Meteor* ſtrong influence before: The time of the *Apparition* to bee, when the King ſhould bee engaged into a Warre with *France*. But well ſhe knew, that whatſoeuer ſhould come from her, would bee held ſuſpected. And therfore, if hee ſhould goe out of *Flanders* immediately into *Ire-*

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land, ſhee might bee thought to haue ſome hand in it. And beſides, the time was not yet ripe; for that the two Kings were then vpon tearmes of *Peace*. Therefore ſhee wheel'd about; and to put all ſuſpicion a far off, and loth to keepe him any longer by her (for that ſhee knew *Secrets* are not long liued) ſhee ſent him vnknowne into *Portugall*, with the Lady BRAMPTON, an *Engliſh Ladie*, that embarqued for *Portugall* at that time; with ſome *Priuado* of her owne, to haue an eye vpon him: and there hee was to remaine, and to expect her further directions In the meane time, ſhee omitted not to prepare things for his better welcome, and accepting, not onely in the Kingdome of *Ireland*, but in the *Court* of *France*. Hee continued in *Portugall* about a yeare; and, by that time, the King of *England* called his *Parliament* (as hath beene ſaid) and declared open Warre againſt *France*. Now did the *Signe* reigne, and the *Conſtellation* was come, vnder which PERKIN ſhould appeare. And therefore hee was ſtraight ſent vnto by the *Ducheſſe*, to goe for *Ireland*, according to the firſt deſignement. In *Ireland* hee did arriue at the Towne of *Corke*. When hee was thither come, his owne *Tale* was (when hee made his *Confeſsion* afterwards) That the *Iriſh-men*, finding him in ſome good Clothes, came flocking about him, and bare him downe, that he was the *Duke* of *Clarence*, that had beene there before; And after, that hee was RICHARD the Thirds baſe ſonne; And laſtly, that he was RICHARD *Duke* of *Yorke*, ſecond ſonne to EDWARD the Fourth: But that hee (for his part) renounced all theſe things, and offered to ſweare vpon the holy *Euangeliſts*, that hee was no ſuch man; till, at laſt, thy forced it vpon him, and bade him feare nothing, and ſo forth. But the truth is, that immediately vpon his comming into *Ireland*, hee tooke vpon him the ſaid *Perſon* of the

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Duke of *York*, and drew vnto him *Complices*, and *Partakers*, by all the meanes hee could deuise: Insomuch, as hee wrote his Letters vnto the *Earles* of *Desmond* and *Kildare*, to come in to his *Aide*, and bee of his *Partie*; the *Originalls* of which Letters are yet extant.

Somewhat before this time, the *Ducheſſe* had alſo gayned vnto her, a neare ſeruant of King HENRY's owne, one STEPHEN FRION, his *Secretarie* for the *French Tongue*; an actiue man, but turbulent, and diſcontented. This FRION had fled ouer to CHARLES the *French King*, and put himſelfe into his ſeruice, at ſuch time as hee began to bee in open enmitie with the King. Now King CHARLES, when he vnderſtood of the Perſon and Attempts of PERKIN (readie of himſelfe to embrace all aduantages againſt the King of *England*; inſtigated by FRION, and formerly prepared by the Ladie MARGARET) forthwith diſpatched one LVCAS, and this FRION, in the nature of *Ambaſſadors* to PERKIN; to aduertiſe him of the Kings good inclination to him, and that hee was reſolued to aide him, to recouer his right againſt King HENRY, an *Vſurper* of *England*, and an Enemie of *Francee*; and wiſhed him, to come ouer vnto him at *Paris*. PERKIN thought himſelfe in heauen, now that hee was inuited by ſo great a King, in ſo honourable a manner; And imparting vnto his Friends in *Ireland* for their incouragement, how *Fortune* called him, and what great hopes hee had, ſayled preſently into *France*. When hee was come to the *Court* of *France*, the King receiued him with great honour; ſaluted, and ſtiled him by the name of the *Duke* of *Yorke*; lodged him, and accommodated him in great *State*; And the better to giue him the repreſentation and the countenance of a *Prince*, aſſigned him a *Guard* for his Perſon, whereof the Lord CONGRESALL was Captaine. The *Courtiers*

tiers likewiſe (though it bee ill mocking with the *French*) applyed themſelues to their Kings Bent, ſeeing there was reaſon of *State* for it. At the ſame time there repaired vnto PERKIN diuers *Engliſhmen* of Qualitie ; Sir GEORGE NEVILE, Sir IOHN TAYLOR, and about one hundred more : and amongſt the reſt, this STEPHEN FRION, of whom wee ſpake ; who followed his fortune both then and for a long time after, and was indeed his principall *Counſellor*, and *Inſtrument* in all his Proceedings. But all this, on the *French Kings* part, was but a Tricke, the better to bow King HENRY to Peace. And therefore vpon the firſt Graine of *Incenſe*, that was ſacrificed vpon the *Altar of Peace* at *Bulloigne*, PERKIN was ſmoked away. Yet would not the *French King* deliuer him vp to King HENRY (as hee was laboured to doe) for his Honors ſake, but warned him away, and diſmiſſed him. And PERKIN on his part was as readie to bee gone, doubting hee might bee caught vp vnder-hand. Hee therefore tooke his way into *Flanders*, vnto the *Ducheſſe* of *Burgundie* ; pretending, that, hauing beene variouſly toſſed by *Fortune*, hee directed his courſe thither, as to a ſafe *Harbour*: No wayes taking knowledge, that he had euer beene there before, but as if that had beene his firſt addreſſe. The *Ducheſſe*, on the other part, made it as new and ſtrange to ſee him : pretending (at the firſt) that ſhe was taught and made wiſe by the example of LAMBERT SIMNELL, how ſhee did admit of any *Counterfeit Stuffe* ; though euen in that (ſhe ſaid) ſhe was not fully ſatisfied. Shee pretended at the firſt (and that was euer in the preſence of others) to poſe him and ſift him, thereby to trie whether hee were indeed the very *Duke* of *Yorke*, or no. But, ſeeming to receiue full ſatisfaction by his anſwers, ſhee then fained her ſelfe to be tranſported with a kind of aſtoniſhment,

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mixt of *Ioy* and *Wonder*, at his miraculous deliuerance; receiuing him, as if hee were risen from Death to Life: and inferring, that GOD, who had in such wonderfull manner preserued him from Death, did likewise reserue him for some great and prosperous *Fortune*. As for his dismission out of *France*, they interpreted it not, as if hee were detected or neglected for a *Counterfeit Deceiuer*; but contrariwise, that it did shew manifestly vnto the World, that hee was some *Great matter*; for that it was his abandoning, that (in effect) made the *Peace*: being no more but the sacrificing of a poore distressed *Prince* vnto the vtilitie and Ambition of two Mightie *Monarchs*. Neither was PERKIN for his part wanting to himselfe, either in gracious and princely behauiour, or in ready and apposite answers, or in contenting and caressing those that did applie themselues vnto him, or in prettie scorne and disdaine to those that seemed to doubt of him; but in all things did notably acquite himselfe: Insomuch as it was generally beleeued (aswell amongst great Persons, as amongst the *Vulgar*) that he was indeed *Duke* RICHARD. Nay, himselfe, with long and continuall counterfeiting, and with oft telling a *Lye*, was turned by habit almost into the thing hee seemed to bee; and from a *Lyer*, to a *Beleeuer*. The *Duchesse* therefore (as in a case out of doubt) did him all princely honour, calling him alwaies by the name of her *Nephew*, and giuing him the *Delicate Title* of the *White-rose* of *England*; and appointed him a *Guard* of thirtie Persons, *Halberdiers*, clad in a *Party-coloured Liuerie* of *Murrey* and *Blue*, to attend his Person. Her *Court* likewise, and generally the *Dutch* and Strangers in their vsage towards him, expressed no lesse respect.

The Newes hereof came blazing and thundering ouer into *England*, that the *Duke* of *Yorke* was sure aliue.

aliue. As for the name of PERKIN WARBECK, it was not at that time come to light, but all the newes ranne vpon the *Duke* of *Yorke*; that hee had beene entertayned in *Ireland*, bought and sold in *France*, and was now plainly auowed, and in great honour in *Flanders*. These *Fames* tooke hold of diuers; In some vpon discontent, in some vpon ambition, in some vpon leuitie and desire of change, and in some few vpon conscience and beleefe, but in most vpon simplicitie; and in diuers out of dependance vpon some of the better sort, who did in secret fauour and nourish these bruits. And it was not long, ere these rumours of *Noueltie*, had begotten others of *Scandall* and *Murmur* against the King, and his gouernment; taxing him for a great *Taxer* of his *People*, and discountenancer of his *Nobilitie*. The losse of *Britaine*, and the Peace with *France* were not forgotten. But chiefly they fell vpon the wrong that hee did his *Queene*, in that hee did not reigne in her *Right*. Wherefore they said, that GOD had now brought to light a *Masculine-Branch* of the House of YORKE, that would not bee at his Curtesie, howsoeuer hee did depresse his poore *Ladie*. And yet (as it fareth in things which are currant with the *Multitude*, and which they affect) these Fames grew so generall, as the *Authors* were lost in the generalitie of *Speakers*. They being like running *Weedes*, that haue no certaine root; or like *Footings* vp and downe, impossible to be traced. But after a while, these ill *Humours* drew to an head, and setled secretly in some eminent *Persons*; which were Sir WILLIAM STANLEY Lord *Chamberlaine* of the Kings *Houshold*, The Lord FITZ-WATER, Sir SIMON MOVNTFORT, Sir THOMAS THWAITES. These entred into a secret Conspiracie to fauour *Duke* RICHARDS Title. Neuertheless none engaged their fortunes in this businesse openly, but two; Sir

ROBERT CLIFFORD, and Maſter WILLIAM BARLEY, who ſailed ouer into *Flanders*, ſent indeed from the *Partie* of the Conſpiratours here, to vnderſtand the truth of thoſe things, that paſſed there, and not without ſome helpe of monies from hence; *Prouiſionally* to bee deliuered, if they found and were ſatisfied, that there was truth in theſe pretences. The perſon of *Sir* ROBERT CLIFFORD (being a Gentleman of *Fame* and *Familie*) was extremely welcome to the *Ladie* MARGARET. Who after ſhee had conference with him, brought him to the ſight of PERKIN, with whom hee had often ſpeech and diſcourſe. So that in the end wonne either by the *Ducheſſe*, to affect, or by PERKIN to beleeue, hee wrote backe into *England*, that he knew the Perſon of RICHARD *Duke* of *Yorke*, as well as hee knew his owne; and that this *Young-man* was vndoubtedly hee. By this meanes all things grew prepared to Reuolt and Sedition here, and the *Conſpiracie* came to haue a *Correſpondence* betweene *Flanders* and *England*.

The King on his part was not aſleepe; but to Arme or leuie *Forces* yet, he thought would but ſhew feare, and doe this *Idoll* too much worſhip. Neuertheleſſe the *Ports* hee did ſhut vp, or at leaſt kept a *Watch* on them, that none ſhould paſſe to or fro that was ſuſpected. But for the reſt, hee chooſe to worke by *Countermine*. His purpoſes were two; the one, to lay open the Abuſe: The other, to breake the knot of the *Conſpirators*. To detect the *Abuſe*, there were but two wayes; The firſt, to make it manifeſt to the world, that the *Duke* of *Yorke* was indeed murthered: The other, to prooue, that were he dead or aliue, yet PERKIN was a *Counterfeit*. For the firſt, thus it ſtood. There were but foure *Perſons* that could ſpeake vpon knowledge, to the murther of the Duke of *Yorke*: *Sir* IAMES TIRREL (the employed-man from King RI-

CHARD

CHARD) IOHN DIGHTON, and MILES FORREST, his ſeruants (the two Butchers or Tormentors) and the *Prieſt* of the *Tower*, that buried them. Of which foure, MILES FOREST, and the *Prieſt* were dead, and there remained aliue onely *Sir* IAMES TIRREL, and IOHN DIGHTON. Theſe two the King cauſed to bee committed to the *Tower*, and examined touching the manner of the death of the two innocent *Princes*. They agreed both in a *Tale*, (as the King gaue out) to this effect: That King RICHARD hauing directed his warrant for the putting of them to death to BRACKENBVRIE the *Lieutenant* of the *Tower*, was by him refuſed. Whereupon the King directed his Warrant to *Sir* IAMES TIRREL, to receiue the keyes of the *Tower* from the *Lieutenant* (for the ſpace of a night) for the Kings ſpeciall ſeruice. That *Sir* IAMES TIRREL accordingly repaired to the *Tower* by night, attended by his two *Seruants* afore-named, whom hee had choſen for that purpoſe. That himſelfe ſtood at the ſtaire-foot, and ſent theſe two *Villaines* to execute the murther. That they ſmothered them in their bed; & that done, called vp their Maſter to ſee their naked dead bodies, which they had laid forth. That they were buried vnder the *Staires*, and ſome ſtones caſt vpon them. That when the report was made to King RICHARD, that his will was done, hee gaue *Sir* IAMES TIRREL great thankes; but tooke exception to the place of their buriall, being too baſe for them that were *Kings* children. Whereupon another night by the Kings warrant renued, their bodies were remoued by the *Prieſt* of the *Tower*, and buried by him in ſome place, which (by meanes of the *Prieſts* death ſoone after) could not be knowne. Thus much was then deliuered abroad, to be the effect of thoſe *Examinations*. But the King neuertheleſſe made no vſe of them in any of his *Declarations*; whereby (as

it seemes) those *Examinations* left the businesse somewhat perplexed. And as for *Sir* IAMES TIRREL, hee was soone after beheaded in the *Tower-yard*, for other matters of *Treason*. But IOHN DIGHTON (who it seemeth spake best for the King) was forthwith set at libertie, and was the principall meanes of diuulging this *Tradition*. Therfore this kind of Proofe being left so naked, the King vsed the more diligence in the latter, for the tracing of PERKIN. To this purpose, hee sent abroad into seuerall parts, and especially into *Flanders*, diuers secret and nimble *Scouts* and *Spies*; some fayning themselues to flie ouer vnto PERKIN, and to adhere vnto him; and some vnder other pretences, to learne, search, and discouer all the circumstances and particulars of PERKINS Parents, Birth, Person, Trauailes vp and downe; and in briefe, to haue a *Iournall* (as it were) of his life and doings. Hee furnished these his imployed-men liberally with Money, to draw on and reward Intelligences: giuing them also in charge, to aduertise continually what they found, and neuertheless still to goe on. And euer as one Aduertisement and Discouerie called vp another, hee employed other new Men, where the Businesse did require it. Others hee employed in a more speciall nature and trust, to be his *Pioners* in the maine *Counter-mine*. These were directed to insinuate themselues into the familiaritie and confidence of the principall *Persons* of the *Partie* in *Flanders*, and so to learne what *Associates* they had, and *Correspondents*, either heere in *England*, or abroad; and how farre euery one ingaged, and what new ones they meant afterwards to trie, or board. And as this for the *Persons*; so for the *Actions* themselues, to discouer to the Bottome (as they could) the vtmost of PERKINS and the *Conspiratours* their Intentions, Hopes, and Practices. These latter *Best-be-trust-Spies* had

had ſome of them further inſtructions, to practiſe and draw off the beſt Friends and Seruants of PERKIN, by making remonſtrance to them, how weakly his Enterprize and Hopes were built, and with how prudent and potent a King they had to deale; and to reconcile them to the King, with promiſe of *Pardon*, and good Conditions of *Reward*. And (aboue the reſt) to aſſayle, ſappe, and worke into the conſtancie of Sir ROBERT CLIFFORD; and to winne him (if they could) being the man that knew moſt of their ſecrets, and who being wonne away, would moſt appall and diſcourage the reſt, and in a manner breake the *Knot*.

There is a ſtrange *Tradition*; That the King being loſt in a *Wood* of Suſpicions, and not knowing whom to truſt, had both intelligence with the *Confeſſors* and *Chaplaines* of diuers great men, and for the better *Credit* of his *Eſpialls* abroad with the contrarie ſide, did vſe to haue them curſed at PAVLS (by Name) amongſt the *Bead-roll* of the Kings Enemies, according to the Cuſtome of thoſe Times. Theſe *Eſpials* plyed their Charge ſo roundly, as the King had an *Anatomie* of PERKIN aliue; and waslikewiſe well informed of the particular correſpondent *Conſpiratours* in *England*, and many other Myſteries were reuealed; and Sir ROBERT CLIFFORD in eſpeciall wonne to bee aſſured to the King, and induſtrious and officious for his ſeruice. The King therfore (receiuing a rich *Returne* of his diligence, and great ſatisfaction touching a number of Particulars) firſt diuulged and ſpred abroad the *Impoſture* and iuggling of PERKINS Perſon and Trauailes, with the Circumſtances therof, throughout the *Realme*. Not by *Proclamation* (becauſe things were yet in Examination, and ſo might receiue the more or the leſſe) but by *Court-fames*, which commonly print better than printed *Proclamations*. Then thought hee it alſo time to ſend an *Ambaſſage* vnto

Arch

Archduke PHILIP, into *Flanders*, for the abandoning and diſmiſſing of PERKIN. Heerein hee employed *Sir* EDWARD POYNINGS, and *Sir* WILLIAM WARHAM, *Doctor* of the *Canon Law*. The *Archduke* was then young, and gouerned by his Councell: before whom the *Ambaſſadours* had audience, and *Doctor* WARHAM ſpake in this manner.

MY Lords, *the King our* Maſter *is very ſorie, that* England *and your Countrey here of* Flanders *hauing beene counted as Man and Wife for ſo long time, now this Countrey of all others ſhould be the Stage, where a baſe Counterfeit ſhould play the part of a King of* England; *not onely to his Graces diſquiet and diſhonour, but to the ſcorne and reproach of all Soueraigne Princes. To counterfeit the dead Image of a King in his Coyne, is an high Offence by all Lawes: But to counterfeit the liuing Image of a King in his Perſon, exceedeth all Falſifications, except it ſhould bee that of a* MAHOMET, *or an* Anti-Chriſt, *that counterfeit Diuine Honour. The King hath too great an Opinion of this ſage Counſell, to thinke that any of you is caught with this Fable (though way may be giuen by you to the paſſion of ſome) the thing in it ſelfe is ſo improbable. To ſet Teſtimonies aſide of the Death of* Duke RICHARD, *which the King hath vpon Record, plaine*

plaine and infallible (becauſe they may bee thought to bee in the Kings owne Power) let the thing teſtifie for it ſelfe. Senſe and Reaſon no Power can command. Is it poſſible (trow you) that King RICHARD ſhould damne his ſoule, and foule his Name with ſo abominable a Murther, and yet not mend his Caſe? Or doe you thinke, that Men of Bloud (that were his Inſtruments) did turne to Pitty in the middeſt of their Execution? Whereas in cruell and ſauage Beaſts, and Men alſo, the firſt Draught of Bloud doth yet make them more fierce, and enraged. Doe you not know, that the Bloudie Executioners of Tyrants doe goe to ſuch Errands, with an Halter about their necke: So that if they performe not, they are ſure to die for it? And doe you thinke, that theſe men would hazard their owne liues, for ſparing anothers? Admit they ſhould haue ſaued him: What ſhould they haue done with him? Turne him into London Streets, that the Watch-men or any Paſſenger that ſhould light vpon him, might carry him before a Iuſtice, and ſo all come to light? Or ſhould they haue kept him by them ſecretly? That ſurely would haue required a great deale of Care, Charge, and continuall Feares. But (my Lords) I labour too much in a cleare Buſi-

Buſineſſe. The King is ſo wiſe, and hath ſo good Friends abroad, as now hee knoweth Duke PERKIN *from his Cradle. And becauſe hee is a great* Prince, *if you haue any good* Poet *here, hee can helpe him with* Notes *to write his* Life; *and to parallel him with* LAMBERT SIMNELL, *now the Kings* Faulconer. *And therefore (to ſpeake plainely to your Lordſhips) it is the ſtrangeſt thing in the World, that the Lady* MARGARET *(excuſe vs, if wee name her, whoſe Malice to the King is both cauſeleſſe and endleſſe) ſhould now when ſhe is old, at the time when other Women giue ouer Childbearing, bring forth two ſuch Monſters; being not the Births of nine or tenne Moneths, but of many yeares. And whereas other naturall Mothers bring forth Children weake, and not able to helpe themſelues; ſhe bringeth forth tall* Striplings, *able ſoone after their comming into the World, to bid Battaile to mightie Kings. My Lords, wee ſtay vnwillingly vpon this Part. Wee would to* GOD, *that Lady would once taſte the Ioyes, which* GOD *Almightie doth ſerue vp vnto her, in beholding her Neece to Reigne in ſuch Honour, and with ſo much Royall Iſſue, which ſhee might bee pleaſed*

to

to accompt as her owne. The Kings Requeſt vnto the Archduke, *and your* Lordſhips, *might bee; That according to the Example of King* Charles, *who hath already diſcarded him, you would baniſh this vnworthy Fellow out of your Dominions. But becauſe the King may iuſtly expect more from an ancient* Confederate, *than from a new reconciled* Enemie; *hee maketh his Requeſt vnto you, to deliuer him vp into his hands.* Pirates *and* Impoſtures *of this ſort, beeing fit to bee accounted the Common* Enemies *of* Mankinde, *and no wayes to bee protected by the Law of* Nations.

After ſome time of Deliberation, the *Ambaſſadours* receiued this ſhort Anſwer.

THat the Archduke, *for the loue of King* Henry, *would in no ſort aide or aſsiſt the pretended* Duke, *but in all things conſerue the Amitie hee had with the King. But for the* Ducheſſe Dowager, *ſhee was abſolute in the Lands of her* Dowrie, *and that hee could not let her to diſpoſe of her owne.*

THe King, vpon the returne of the *Ambassadours*, was nothing satisfied with this Answer. For well he knew, that a *Patrimoniall Dowrie* carried no part of *Soueraignty*, or Command of *Forces*. Besides, the *Ambassadors* told him plainly, that they saw the *Duchesse* had a great *Party* in the *Arch-Dukes* Counsell; & that howsoeuer it was carried in a course of conniuence, yet the *Arch-Duke* vnder hand gaue aid and furtherance to PERKIN. Wherefore (partly out of *Courage*, and partly out of *Policie*) the King forthwith banished all *Flemmings* (as wel their *Persons*, as their *Wares*) out of his *Kingdom*; Commanding his Subiects likewise (and by name his *Merchants-Aduenturers*) which had a Resiance in *Antwerpe*, to return; translating the *Mart* (which commonly followed the *English* Cloth) vnto *Calice*, & embarred also all further trade for the future. This the *King* did, being sensible in point of honour, not to suffer a *Pretender* to the Crowne of *England*, to affront him so neare at hand, and he to keep termes of friendship with the *Countrie* where he did set vp. But he had also a further reach: for that hee knew well, that the Subiects of *Flanders* drew so great commoditie from the trade of *England*, as by this *Embargo* they would soon waxe weary of PERKIN, and that the Tumults of *Flanders* had bin so late & fresh, as it was no time for the *Prince* to displease the *People*. Neuertheless for formes sake, by way of requitall, the *Arch-Duke* did likewise banish the *English* out of *Flanders*; which in effect was done to his hand.

The King being well aduertised, that PERKIN did more trust vpon Friends and Partakers within the Realme, than vpon forraine Armes, thought it behooued him to apply the *Remedy*, where the *Disease* lay; & to proceed with seueritie against some of the

the principall *Conſpirators* here within the Realme; Thereby to purge the ill Humours in *England*, & to coole the Hopes in *Flanders*. Wherefore hee cauſed to bee apprehended (almoſt at an inſtant) IOHN RATCLIFFE Lord *Fitz-water*, *Sir* SIMON MOVNTFORD, *Sir* THOMAS THWAITES, WILLIAM DAWBIGNEY, ROBERT RATCLIFFE, THOMAS CHRESSENOR, & THOMAS ASTWOOD. All theſe were arraigned, conuicted and condemned for *High-Treaſon*, in adhering, and promiſing aide to PERKIN. Of theſe, the *Lord* FITZWATER was conueighed to *Calice*, and there kept in hold, and in hope of life, vntill ſoone after (eyther impatient, or betrayed) he dealt with his Keeper to haue eſcaped, & thereupon was beheaded. But *Sir* SIMON MOVNTFORD, ROBERT RATCLIFFE, and WILLIAM DAWBIGNEY were beheaded immediately after their Condemnation. The reſt were pardoned, together with many others *Clerkes* and *Laikes*, amongſt which were two *Dominican Friars*, and WILLIAM WORSELEY, *Deane* of *Paules*: which latter ſort paſſed Examination, but came not to publike triall.

The *Lord Chamberlaine* at that time was not touched; whether it were, that the King would not ſtir too many humours at once, but (after the maner of good *Phyſitians*) purge the head laſt; or that CLIFFORD (from whom moſt of theſe *Diſcoueries* came) reſerued that Piece for his own cõming ouer: ſignifying only to the King in the meane time, that he doubted there were ſome greater ones in the buſineſſe, whereof he would giue the King further accompt, when he came to his preſence.

Vpon *Al-hallowes-day-euen* being now the tenth yeare of the Kings Reigne, the Kings ſecond Sonne

HENRY was created *Duke* of *Yorke*; & as well the *Duke*, as diuers others, *Noblemen*, *Knights-Batchlours*, & *Gentlemen* of Quality were made knights of the *Bath*, according to the *Ceremony*. Vpon the morrow after *Twelfth-Day*, the King remoued from *Westminster* (where he had kept his *Christmas*) to the Tower of *London*. This he did as soon as he had aduertisement, that *Sir* ROBERT GLIFFORD (in whose *Bosom* or *Budget* most of PERKINS secrets were layed vp) was come into *England*. And the place of the *Tower* was chosen to that end, that if CLIFFORD should accuse any of the *Great-ones*, they might without suspition, or noise, or sending abroad of Warrants, be presently attached; the *Court* & *Prison* being within the cincture of one Wal. After a day or two, the king drew vnto him a selected *Councel*, & admitted CLIFFORD to his presence; who first fell downe at his feet, and in all humble manner craued the *Kings Pardon*, which the King then granted, though hee were indeed secretly assured of his life before. Then commanded to tell his knowledge, he did amongst many others (of himself, not interrogated) appeach *Sir* WILLIAM STANLEY, the *Lord Chamberlaine* of the Kings Houshold.

The King seemed to be much amazed at the naming of this *Lord*, as if he had heard the Newes of some strange and fearfull *Prodigie*. To heare a *Man* that had done him seruice of so high a nature, as to saue his life, & set the Crown vpon his head; a *Man*, that enioied by his fauor & aduancement so great a fortune, both in Honour & Riches; a *Man*, that was tied vnto him in so near a *Band* of alliance, his Brother hauing married the Kings Mother; and lastly, a *Man*, to whom he had cõmitted the trust of his *Person*, in making him his *Chamberlain*. That this *Man*, no waies disgraced, no waies discontent, no waies

put

put in feare, ſhould be falſe vnto him. CLIFFORD was required to ſay ouer again, & againe, the *Particulars* of his accuſatiõ; being warned, that in a matter ſo vnlikely, & that concerned ſo great a Seruant of the Kings, he ſhould not in any wiſe go too far. But the king finding that he did ſadly, & conſtantly (without heſitation or varying, & with thoſe ciuill Proteſtations that were fit) ſtand to that that he had ſaid, offering to iuſtifie it vpon his ſoule and life; he cauſed him to be remoued. And after he had not a litle bemoaned himſelf vnto his Councel there preſent, gaue order that *Sir* WILLIAM STANLEY ſhould be reſtrained in his own Chamber, where he lay before, in the *Square Tower*. And the next day he was examined by the Lords. Vpõ his *Examination*, he denied little of that wherewith he was charged, nor endeauoured much to excuſe or extenuate his fault. So that (not very wiſely) thinking to make his Offence leſſe by *Confeſſion*, hee made it enough for *Condemnation*. It was conceiued, that he truſted much to his former merits, and the intereſt that his brother had in the king. But thoſe helpes were ouer weighed by diuers things that made againſt him, & were predominant in the Kings nature and minde. Firſt, an *Ouer-merit*; for conuenient Merit, vnto wch reward may eaſily reach, doth beſt with kings: next the ſenſe of his *Power*; for the King thought, that he that could ſet him vp, was the more dãgerous to pul him down. Thirdly, the glimmering of a *Confiſcation*; for he was the richeſt *ſubiect* for value in the kingdome; There being found in his *Caſtle* of *Holt* forty thouſand Marks in ready mony, and plate, beſides *Iewels*, *Houſhold-ſtuffe*, *Stockes* vpon his grounds, & othet Perſonall Eſtate, exceeding great. And for his Reuenue in *Land* and *Fee*, it was three thouſand pounds a yeere of old Rent, a great matter in thoſe times

times. Lastly, the Nature of the *Time*; for if the King had been out of feare of his own Estate, it was not vnlike he would haue spared his life. But the Cloud of so great a *Rebellion* hanging ouer his head, made him worke sure. Wherefore after some six weekes distance of time, which the King did honorably interpose, both to giue space to his Brothers Intercession, & to shew to the World, that he had a conflict with himself what he should do; he was arraigned of *High-Treason*, and condemned, and presently after beheaded.

Yet is it to this day left but in dark memorie both what the Case of this *Noble Person* was, for wch he suffred; and what likewise was the ground & cause of his defection, & the alienation of his heart from the King. His *Case* was said to be this: That in discourse between *Sir* ROBERT CLIFFORD and him, he had said; *That if he were sure, that that young man were King* EDWARDS *Sonne, hee would neuer beare Armes against him.* This *Case* seemes somwhat an hard Case, both in respect of the *Conditionall*, and in respect of the other words. But for the *Conditional*, it seemes the *Iudges* of that time (who were learned men, & the three chief of them of the *Priuy Councel*) thought it was a dangerous thing to admit *Ifs* and *Ands*, to qualifie words of *Treason*; wherby euery man might expresse his malice, and blanch his danger. And it was like to the *Case* (in the following times) of ELIZABETH BARTON, the *Holy-maid* of *Kent*: who had said, *That if king* HENRY *the eighth did not take* KATHERINE *his Wife againe, he should be depriued of his Crown, and dye the death of a Dogge.* And infinite *Cases* may be put of like nature. Which (it seemeth) the graue *Iudges* taking into Consideration, would not admit of *treasons* vpō *condition*. And as for the *Positiue* words, *That he would not bear arms against*

againſt King EDWARDS *Son*; though the words ſeeme calme, yet it was a plain & direct *Ouer-ruling* of the Kings Title, either by the *Line* of LANCASTER, or by *Act* of *Parliament*. Which (no doubt) pierced the King more, than if STANLEY had charged his *Lance* vpon him in the fielde. For if STANLEY would hold that opinion, that a ſon of King EDWARD had ſtill the better right, he being ſo principall a *Perſon* of authoritie, and fauor about the King; it was to teach all *England*, to ſay as much. And therfore (as thoſe times were) that ſpeech touched the *Quicke*. But ſome Writers doe put this out of doubt; for they ſay, That STANLEY did expreſly promiſe to aide PERKIN, & ſent him ſome helpe of Treaſure.

Now for the *Motiue* of his falling off from the King; It is true, that at *Boſworth Field* the King was beſet, and in a manner incloſed round about by the Troupes of King RICHARD, & in manifeſt danger of his life; when this STANLEY was ſent by his brother, with three thouſand men to his Reſcue, which he performed ſo, that king RICHARD was ſlaine vpon the Place. So as the condition of Mortal men is not capable of a greater benefit, than the king receiued by the hands of STANLEY; being like the benefit of CHRIST, at once to *Saue*, and *Crowne*. For which ſeruice the King gaue him great gifts, made him his *Counſellor*, & *Chamberlain*; and (ſomwhat cõtrary to his nature) had winked at the great ſpoiles of *Boſworth Field*, wch came almoſt wholly to this mans hands, to his infinite enriching. Yet neuertheleſſe blown vp with the conceit of his *Merit*, he did not think he had receiued good *Meaſure* frõ the King, at leaſt not *Preſſing-downe*, and running-ouer, as he expected. And his ambition was ſo exorbitant, and vnbounded, as he became *Sutour* to the

the King for the *Earledome* of *Chester*. Which euer beeing a kinde of *Appennage* to the *Principalitie* of *Wales*, and vsing to goe to the Kings Sonne; his suit did not only end in a *Deniall*, but in a *Distaste*. The King perceiuing thereby, that his *Desires* were intemperate, and his *Cogitations* vaste, and irregular, and that his former *Benefits* were but cheape, and lightly regarded by him. Wherefore the King began not to brook him wel. And as a litle *Leauen* of new Distaste doth commonly sowre the whole *Lumpe* of former Merits, the Kings *Wit* began now to suggest vnto his *Passion*, that STANLEY, at *Bosworth Field*, though he came time enough to saue his life, yet hee stayed long enough to endanger it. But yet hauing no matter against him, he continued him in his *Places*, vntill this his *Fall*.

After him was made Lord *Chamberlaine*, GILES Lord *Dawbeny*, a man of great sufficiencie and valour; the more, because he was gentle and moderate.

There was a common Opinion, That Sir ROBERT CLIFFORD (who now was become the *State-Informer*) was from the beginning an *Emissary*, and *Spie* of the Kings; and that hee fled ouer into *Flanders* with his consent and priuitie. But this is not probable; both because hee neuer recouered that Degree of Grace, which he had with the king before his going ouer; and chiefly, for that the *Discouerie* which hee had made touching the Lord *Chamberlaine* (which was his great Seruice) grew not from any thing he learn'd abroade, for that hee knew it well before he went.

These *Executions* (and especially that of the Lord *Chamberlaines*, which was the chiefe strength of the *Partie*, and by meanes of Sir ROBERT CLIFFORD, who was the most inward man of Trust amongst them)

them) did extremely quaile the Designe of PERKIN, and his complices, as well through Discouragement, as Distrust. So that they were now (like *Sand* without *Lyme*) ill bound together; especially as many as were *English*: who were at a gaze, looking strange one vpon another, not knowing who was faithfull to their *Side*; but thinking, that the King (what with his *Baits*, and what with his *Nets*) would draw them all vnto him, that were any thing worth. And indeede it came to passe, that diuers came away by the *Thred*, sometimes one, and sometimes another. BARLEY (that was *Ioint-Commissioner* with CLIFFORD) did hold out one of the longest, till PERKIN was farre worne; yet made his Peace at the length. But, the Fall of this *Great man*, beeing in so high Authoritie and Fauour (as was thought) with the King; and the manner of Carriage of the Businesse, as if there had beene secret Inquisition vpon him, for a great time before; and the Cause for which hee suffered, which was little more, than for saying in effect, *That the Title of* YORKE *was better than the Title of* LANCASTER; which was the Case almost of euery man (at the least in Opinion;) was matter of great Terrour amongst all the Kings Seruants and Subiects: Insomuch, as no man almost thought himselfe secure; and men durst scarce commune or talke one with another: but there was a generall Diffidence euery where. Which neuertheless made the King rather more *Absolute*, than more *Safe*. For, *Bleeding Inwards and shut Vapours strangle soonest, and oppresse most.*

Hereupon presently came forth *Swarmes* and *Volies* of *Libels* (which are the *Gusts* of Libertie of Speech restrayned, and the *Females* of Sedition) contayning bitter *Inuectiues*, and Slanders against the King, and some of the *Counsell*. For the continuing and dispersing whereof (after great Diligence of Inquirie)

fiue meane Persons were caught, and executed.

Meane while, the King did not neglect *Ireland*; being the *Soyle* where the *Mushromes* and *Upstart-Weedes* (that spring vp in a Night) did chiefly prosper. Hee sent therefore from hence (for the better settling of his affaires there) *Commissioners* of both *Robes*: The *Prior* of *Lanthony*, to bee his *Chancellour* in that *Kingdome*; and Sir EDWARD POYNINGS, with a Power of Men, and a *Marshall Commission*, together with a Ciuill Power of his *Lieutenant*, with a Clause, That the *Earle* of *Kildare*, then *Deputie*, should obey him. But, the *Wilde-Irish* (who were the principall Offenders) fledde into the *Woods* and *Bogges*, after their manner: and those, that knew themselues guilty, in the *Pale*, fledde to them. So that Sir EDWARD POYNINGS was enforced to make a *Wilde-Chase* vpon the *Wilde-Irish*: Where (in respect of the Mountaines and *Fastnesses*) hee did little good. Which (eyther out of a suspicious Melancholy vpon his bad *Successe*, or the better to saue his seruice from *Disgrace*) hee would needes impute vnto the *Comfort*, that the *Rebels* should receiue vnder-hand from the *Earle* of *Kildare*; euery light suspicion growing vpon the *Earle*, in respect of the KILDARE that was in the Action of LAMBERT SIMNELL, and slaine at *Stoke-field*. Wherefore hee caused the *Earle* to bee apprehended, and sent into *England*; where, vpon Examination, hee cleared himselfe so well, as he was re-placed in his *Gouernment*. But, POYNINGS (the better to make compensation of the Meagernesse of his Seruice in the *Warres*, by *Acts* of *Peace*) called a *Parliament*; where was made that memorable *Act*, which at this day is called POYNINGS *Law*, whereby all the *Statutes* of *England* were made to bee of force in *Ireland*. For, before they were not; neither

are any now in force in *Ireland*, which were made in *England* since that time; which was the tenth yeare of the King.

About this time, beganne to be discouered in the King that Disposition, which afterward nourished and whet-on by bad *Counsellers* and Ministers, prooued the *Blot* of his times; which was, the course he tooke, to crush *Treasure* out of his Subiects Purses, by forfeitures vpon *Penall-Lawes*. At this, men did startle the more at this time, because it appeared plainely to bee in the *King's Nature*, and not out of his *Necessitie*, hee beeing now in *Float* for *Treasure*; For that he had newly receiued the *Peace-money* from *France*, the *Benevolence-money* from his Subiects, and great *Casualties* vpon the Confiscations of the *Lord Chamberlaine*, and diuers others. The first-noted *Case* of this kinde, was that of *Sir* WILLIAM CAPEL, Alderman of *London*: Who, vpon sundry *Penall-Lawes*, was condemned in the summe of seuen and twenty hundred pounds, and compounded with the *King* for sixteene hundred: And yet after, EMPSON would haue cut another *Chop* out of him, if the *King* had not dyed in the Instant.

The Summer following, the King, to comfort his *Mother* (whom he did alwaies tenderly loue and reuere) and to make Demonstration to the World, that the proceedings against *Sir* WILLIAM STANLEY (which was imposed vpon him by necessitie of *State*) had not in any degree diminished the affection he bare to THOMAS, his brother, went in *Progresse* to *Latham*, to make merry with his *Mother*, and the *Earle*, and lay there diuers dayes.

During this *Progresse*, PERKIN WARBECKE finding, that time and Temporizing, which (whilest his practices were couert and wrought well in *England*) made for him; did now, when they were disco-

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uered and defeated, rather make against him (for that when matters once goe downe the *Hill*, they ſtay not without a new force) reſolued to trie his aduenture in ſome exploit vpon *England*; hoping ſtill vpon the affections of the Common-People towards the Houſe of YORKE. Which *Body* of Common-People hee thought was not to bee practiſed vpon, as Perſons of *Qualitie* are; But, that the only practice vpon their affections, was, To ſet vp a *Standard* in the fielde. The Place where hee ſhould make his Attempt, hee choſe to be the Coaſt of *Kent*.

The King by this time was growne to ſuch an height of *Reputation* for cunning and *Policie*, that euery Accident and Euent, that went well, was laid and imputed to his foreſight, as if hee had ſet it before: As, in this Particular of PERKINS *Deſigne* vpon *Kent*. For, the world would not beleeue afterwards, but the King, hauing ſecret Intelligence of PERKINS intention for *Kent* (the better to draw it on) went of purpoſe into the *North*, a farre off, laying an open ſide vnto PERKIN, to make him come to the *Cloſe*, and ſo to trip vp his heeles, hauing made ſure in *Kent* before hand.

But ſo it was, that PERKIN had gathered together a Power of all Nations, neither in number, nor in the hardineſſe and courage of the Perſons, contemptible; but, in their nature and fortunes, to bee feared as well of *Friends* as *Enemies*; being *Bankrupts*, and many of them *Felons*, and ſuch as liued by *Rapine*. Theſe hee put to Sea, and arriued vpon the Coaſt of *Sandwich* and *Deale* in *Kent*, about *Iuly*.

There he caſt Anchor; and to prooue the affections of the People, ſent ſome of his men to land, making great boaſt of the Power that was to follow. The *Kentiſh-men* (perceiuing that PERKIN was not followed by any *Engliſh* of name or accompt, and that his forces

forces conſiſted but of ſtrangers borne, and moſt of them baſe People, and *Free-booters*, fitter to ſpoile a *Coaſt*, than to recouer a *Kingdome*) reſorting vnto the principall *Gentlemen* of the Countrie, profeſſed their loyaltie to the King, and deſired to bee directed and commanded for the beſt of the Kings ſeruice. The *Gentlemen*, entring into Conſultation, directed ſome forces in good number, to ſhew themſelues vpon the *Coaſt*; and ſome of them to make ſignes, to entice PERKINS *Souldiers* to land, as if they would ioyne with them: and ſome others to appeare from ſome other Places, and to make ſemblance as if they fledde from them; the better to encourage them to land. But, PERKIN (who, by playing the *Prince*, or elſe taught by *Secretarie* FRION, had learned thus much, That People vnder Command, doe vſe to conſult, and after to march in order; and *Rebells* contrariwiſe runne vpon an *Head* together in confuſion) conſidering the delay of time, and obſeruing their orderly, and not tumultuary Arming, doubted the worſt. And therefore the wily *Youth* would not ſet one foote out of his Ship, till hee might ſee things were ſure. Wherefore the Kings *Forces*, perceiuing that they could draw on no more than thoſe that were formerly landed, ſet vpon them, and cut them in pieces, ere they could fly backe to their ſhips. In which *Skirmiſh* (beſides thoſe that fledde, and were ſlaine) there were taken about an hundred and fifty perſons. Which, for that the King thought, that to puniſh a few for example was *Gentlemans-play*, but for *Raſcall-People*, they were to bee cut off euery man, eſpecially in the beginning of an Enterprize; and likewiſe for that hee ſaw, that PERKINS Forces would now conſiſt chiefly of ſuch *Rabble* and ſcumme of deſperate People; hee therefore hanged them all, for the greater terrour. They were brought to *London*, all rayl'd in Ropes,

Ropes, like a Teame of Horſes in a Cart; and were executed ſome of them at *London*, and *Wapping*, and the reſt at diuers places vpon the Sea-Coaſt of *Kent*, *Suſſex*, and *Norfolke*, for *Sea-markes* or *Light-houſes*, to teach PERKINS People to auoyd the Coaſt. The King, being aduertiſed of the landing of the *Rebels*, thought to leaue his *Progreſſe*: But, being certified the next day, that they were partly defeated, and partly fled, hee continued his *Progreſſe*, and ſent Sir RICHARD GVILFORD into *Kent* in meſſage. Who, calling the Countrie together, did much commend (from the King) their fidelitie, manhood, and well handling of that ſeruice; and gaue them all thankes, and (in priuate) promiſed Reward to ſome particulars.

Vpon the ſixteenth of *Nouember* (this beeing the eleuenth yeare of the King) was holden the *Serieants-Feaſt*, at *Elie-Place*; there being nine *Serieants* of that *Call*. The King, to honour the Feaſt, was preſent with his *Queene* at the Dinner; being a *Prince*, that was euer ready to grace and countenance the Profeſſors of the *Law*; hauing a little of that, *That as he gouerned his* Subiects *by his* Lawes, *ſo he gouerned his* Lawes *by his* Lawyers.

This yeare alſo the King entred into League with the *Italian Potentates*, for the defence of *Italie*, againſt *France*. For, King CHARLES had conquered the *Realme* of *Naples*, and loſt it againe, in a kinde of *Felicitie* of a Dreame. Hee paſſed the whole length of *Italie* without reſiſtance: ſo that it was true which *Pope* ALEXANDER was wont to ſay; *That the Frenchmen came into Italie, with Chalke in their hands, to marke vp their lodgings, rather than with ſwords to fight.* Hee likewiſe entred and wonne, in effect, the whole Kingdome of *Naples* it ſelfe, without ſtriking ſtroke. But, preſently thereupon, he did commit and multiply ſo many Errours, as was too great a taske for the beſt fortune

fortune to ouercome. Hee gaue no contentment to the *Barons* of *Naples*, of the *Faction* of the *Angeoulines*; but, ſcattered his rewards according to the mercenarie appetites of ſome about him. He put all *Italie* vpon their *Guard*, by the ſeizing and holding of *Oſtia*, and the protecting of the Libertie of *Piſa*: which made all men ſuſpect that his purpoſes looked further, than his title of *Naples*. He fell too ſoone at difference with LVDOVICO SFORTIA; who was the Man that carried the *Keyes* which brought him in, and ſhut him out. Hee neglected to extinguiſh ſome reliques of the Warre. And laſtly, in regard of his eaſie paſſage through *Italie* without reſiſtance, hee entred into an ouermuch deſpiſing of the Armes of the *Italians*: Whereby he left the Realme of *Naples*, at his departure, ſo much the leſſe prouided. So that not long after his returne, the whole Kingdome reuolted to FERDINANDO the younger, and the *French* were quite driuen out. Neuertheleſſe, CHARLES did make both great threats, and great preparations, to re-enter *Italie* once againe. Wherfore, at the inſtance of diuers of the *States* of *Italie* (and eſpecially of *Pope* ALEXANDER) there was a League concluded, betweene the ſaid *Pope*, MAXIMILIAN King of *Romanes*, HENRY King of *England*, FERDINANDO and ISABELLA, King and Queen of *Spaine* (for ſo they are conſtantly placed in the originall *Treaty* throughout,) AVGVSTISSIMO BARBADICO, *Duke* of *Venice*, and LVDOVICO SFORTIA, *Duke* of *Millan*, for the common defence of their eſtates. Wherein though FERDINANDO of *Naples* was not named as principall; yet, no doubt, the Kingdome of *Naples* was tacitly included, as a *Fee* of the Church.

There dyed alſo this yeare CECILE, *Ducheſſe* of *Yorke*, mother to King EDWARD the Fourth, at her Caſtle of *Barkhamſted*, beeing of extreame yeares; and

and who had liued to ſee three *Princes* of her bodie crowned, and foure murthered. Shee was buried at *Foderingham*, by her husband.

This yeare alſo the King called his *Parliament*: where many Lawes were made, of a more priuate and vulgar nature, than ought to detaine the *Reader* of an *Hiſtorie*. And it may bee iuſtly ſuſpected, by the proceedings following, that as the King did excell in good Common-wealth *Lawes*; ſo neuertheleſſe hee had, in ſecret, a deſigne to make vſe of them, as well for collecting of *Treaſure*, as for correcting of *Manners*; and ſo, meaning thereby to harrow his People, did accumulate them the rather.

The principall *Law*, that was made this *Parliament*, was a Law of a ſtrange nature: rather *Iuſt*, than *Legall*; and more magnanimous than prouident. This *Law* did ordaine, That no perſon, that did aſsiſt in Armes, or otherwiſe, the King for the time beeing, ſhould after bee impeached therefore, or attainted, either by the courſe of the Law, or by *Act* of *Parliament*; But, if any ſuch Act of *Attainder* did happen to bee made, it ſhould bee voyde, and of none effect; For that it was agreeable to reaſon of *Eſtate*, that the *Subiect* ſhould not enquire of the iuſtneſſe of the Kings Title, or *Quarrell*; and it was agreeable to good *Conſcience*, that (whatſoeuer the fortune of the Warre were) the *Subiect* ſhould not ſuffer for his Obedience. The ſpirit of this *Law* was wonderfull Pious and Noble: beeing like in matter of *Warre*, vnto the ſpirit of DAVID in matter of *Plague*, who ſaid, *If I haue ſinned, ſtrike mee; but what haue theſe ſheepe done?* Neither wanted this *Law* parts of prudent and deepe fore-ſight. For, it did the better take away occaſion, for the people to buſie themſelues, to prie into the Kings Title; for that howſoeuer it fell, their ſafety was alreadie prouided for. Beſides, it could not but greatly draw

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vnto him, the loue and hearts of the people, becauſe hee ſeemed more carefull for them, than for himſelfe. But yet neuertheleſſe, it did take off from his *Partie*, that great *Tie* and *Spurre* of neceſſity, to fight and goe *Victors* out of the fielde; conſidering their liues and fortunes were put in ſafety, and protected, whether they ſtood to it or ranne away. But the force and obligation of this *Law* was in it ſelfe *Illuſorie*, as to the latter part of it; by a *precedent Act* of *Parliament*, to binde or fruſtrate a *future*. For a ſupreme and abſolute *Power* cannot conclude it ſelfe, neither can that which is in nature reuocable bee made fixed; no more than if a man ſhould appoint or declare by his Will, that if hee made any Latter will, it ſhould bee voyde. And for the *Caſe* of the *Act* of *Parliament*, there is a notable Preſident of it in King HENRIE the Eight's time. Who doubting hee might dye in the minoritie of his Sonne, procured an *Act* to paſſe, *That no Statute made during the minoritie of the King, ſhould binde him or his Succeſſours, except it were confirmed by the King vnder his great Seale, at his full age.* But the firſt *Act* that paſſed in King EDWARD the Sixth his time, was an *Act* of Repeale of that former *Act*; at which time neuertheleſſe the King was *Minor*. But things that doe not binde, may ſatisfie for the time.

There was alſo made a ſhoaring or vnderpropping *Act* for the *Beneuolence*; to make the ſummes which any perſon had agreed to pay, and neuertheleſſe were not brought in, to bee leuiable by courſe of Law. Which *Act* did not only bring in the *Areres*, but did indeed countenance the whole buſineſſe, and was pretended to bee made at the deſire of thoſe, that had beene forward to pay.

This *Parliament* alſo was made that good *Law*, which gaue the *Attaint* vpon a *falſe Verdict* betweene *Partie* and *Partie*, which before was a kinde of *Euan-*

gile, irremediable. It extends not to cauſes *Capitall*; as well becauſe they are for the moſt part at the Kings Suite; as becauſe in them (if they bee followed in Courſe of *Indictment*) there paſſeth a double *Iurie*, the *Indictors*, and the *Triers*; and ſo not Twelue Men, but Foure and twentie. But it ſeemeth that was not the onely reaſon; for this reaſon holdeth not in the *Appeale*. But the great reaſon was, leſt it ſhould tend to the diſcouragement of *Iurors* in Caſes of *Life* and *Death*; if they ſhould bee ſubiect to Suite and Penaltie, where the fauour of *Life* maketh againſt them. It extendeth not alſo to any Suite, where the *Demand* is vnder the value of fortie pounds; for that in ſuch Caſes of pettie value, it would not quite the Charge, to goe about againe.

There was another *Law* made againſt a branch of *Ingratitude* in Women, who hauing beene aduanced by their *Husbands*, or their Husbands *Anceſtors*, ſhould alien, and thereby ſeeke to defeate the *Heires*, or thoſe in *Remainder*, of the Lands, whereunto they had bin ſo aduanced. The remedie was, by giuing power to the next, to enter for a forfeiture.

There was alſo enacted that Charitable *Law*, for the admiſſion of poore Suiters *In Forma Pauperis*, without Fee to *Counſellor*, *Atturney*, or *Clerke*, whereby poore men became rather able to *vexe*, than vnable to *ſue*. There were diuers other good *Lawes* made that *Parliament*, as we ſaid before: but we ſtill obſerue our manner, in ſelecting out thoſe, that are not of a *Vulgar* nature.

The King this while, though hee ſate in *Parliament*, as in full Peace, and ſeemed to account of the deſignes of PERKIN (who was now returned into *Flanders*) but as a *May-game*; yet hauing the compoſition of a wiſe King (*Stout* without, and *apprehenſiue* within) had giuen order for the watching of *Beacons* vpon the Coaſts,

Coasts, and erecting more where they stood too thin, and had a carefull eye where this wandering *Cloude* would breake. But PERKIN aduised to keepe his fire (which hitherto burned as it were vpon greene Wood) aliue, with continuall blowing; Sailed againe into *Ireland*, whence he had formerly departed, rather vpon the hopes of *France*, than vpon any vnreadinesse or discouragement hee found in that People. But in the space of time betweene the Kings *Diligence* and POYNINGS *Commission*, had so settled things there, as there was nothing left for PERKIN, but the blustring affection of wilde and naked people. Wherefore hee was aduised by his *Councell*, to seeke aide of the King of *Scotland*; a *Prince* yong, and valourous, and in good termes with his *Nobles* and *People*, and ill affected to King HENRY. At this time also both MAXIMILIAN and CHARLES of *France* began to beare no good will to the King. The one beeing displeased with the Kings *Prohibition* of Commerce with *Flanders*: The Other holding the King for suspect, in regard of his late entrie into league with the *Italians*. Wherefore besides the open *Aides* of the *Duchesse* of *Burgundy*, which did with *Sayles* and *Oares* put on and aduance PERKINS designes, there wanted not some secret *Tides* from MAXIMILIAN and CHARLES, which did further his fortunes. In so much as they, both by their secret Letters, and Messages, recommended him to the King of *Scotland*.

PERKIN therefore comming into *Scotland* vpon those hopes, with a well appointed company, was by the King of *Scots* (beeing formerly well prepared) honourably welcommed, and soone after his arriuall admitted to his Presence, in a solemne manner. For the King receiued him in *State* in his Chamber of *Presence*, accompanied with diuers of his *Nobles*. And PERKIN well attended, as well with those that the King

had sent before him, as with his owne *Traine*, entered the roome where the King was, and comming neare to the King, and bowing a little to embrace him, hee retired some paces backe, and with a loud voyce (that all that were present might heare him) made his *Declaration* in this manner.

HIgh and Mighty King, your Grace, and these your Nobles here present, may be pleased benignely to bow your Eares, to heare the Tragedie *of a young Man, that by Right ought to hold in his hand the* Ball *of a* Kingdome; *but by Fortune is made Himselfe a* Ball, *tossed from Miserie to Miserie, and from Place to Place. You see here before you the Spectacle of a* PLANTAGENET, *who hath beene carried from the* Nurserie *to the* Sanctuarie; *from the* Sanctuarie, *to the direfull* Prison; *from the* Prison, *to the Hand of the cruell* Tormentor; *and from that Hand, to the wide* Wilderneſſe (*as I may truely call it*) *for so the World hath beene to mee. So that hee that is borne to a great* Kingdome, *hath not Ground to set his foote vpon, more than this where hee now standeth, by your Princely Fauour.* EDWARD *the Fourth, late King of* England, (*as your Grace cannot but haue heard*) *left two Sonnes;* EDWARD, *and* RICHARD, Duke *of* Yorke, *both very young.*

young. EDWARD, the eldest succeeded their Father in the Crowne, by the name of King EDWARD the Fift. But RICHARD, Duke of Glocester, their vnnaturall Vnckle, first thirsting after the Kingdome, through Ambition, and afterwards thirsting for their Bloud, out of desire to secure himselfe; imployed an Instrument of his (confident to him, as hee thought) to murther them both. But this Man that was imployed, to execute that execrable Tragedie, hauing cruelly slaine King EDWARD, the eldest of the two, was moued partly by Remorse, and partly by some other meane, to saue RICHARD his Brother; making a Report neuertheless to the Tyrant, that hee had performed his Commandement for both Brethren. This Report was accordingly beleeued, and published generally. So that the World hath beene possessed of an Opinion, that they both were barbarously made away, though euer Truth hath some sparkes that flye abroade, vntill it appeare in due time, as this hath had. But Almighty GOD, that stopped the Mouth of the Lion, and saued little IOAS from the Tyrannie of ATHALIAH, when shee massacred the Kings Children; and did saue ISAACK, when the hand was stretched forth to sacrifice him; preserued the

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second Brother. For I my selfe, that stand heere in your presence, am that very RICHARD, Duke *of* Yorke, *Brother of that infortunate Prince, King* EDWARD *the Fift, now the most rightfull suruiuing Heire-Male to that Victorious and most Noble* EDWARD, *of that Name the Fourth, late King of* England. *For the manner of my* Escape, *it is fit it should passe in silence, or (at least) in a more secret* Relation: *for that it may concerne some aliue, and the memorie of some that are dead. Let it suffice to thinke, that I had then a* Mother *liuing, a* Queene, *and one that expected dayly such a* Commandement *from the* Tyrant, *for the murthering of her* Children. *Thus in my tender age escaping by* GODS *Mercie out of* London, *I was secretly conueyed ouer Sea. Where, after a time, the* Partie *that had mee in Charge, (vpon what new* Feares, *change of* Minde, *or* Practice, GOD *knoweth) suddenly forsooke mee. Whereby I was forced to wander abroade, and to seeke meane* Conditions *for the sustaining of my* Life. *Wherefore distracted betweene seuerall* Passions, *the one of* Feare *to bee knowne, least the* Tyrant *should haue a new* Attempt *vpon mee, the other of* Griefe *and* Disdaine *to bee vnknowne, and to liue in that*

base

baſe and ſeruile manner that I did; I reſolued with my ſelfe, to expect the Tyrants *Death, and then to put my ſelfe into my* Sisters *hands, who was next* Heire *to the* Crowne. *But in this Seaſon, it happened one* HENRIE TIDDER, *ſonne to* EDMOND TIDDER Earle *of* Richmond, *to come from* France, *and enter into the* Realme, *and by ſubtile and foule meanes to obtaine the* Crowne *of the ſame, which to mee rightfully appertained. So that it was but a* Change, *from* Tyrant *to* Tyrant. *This* HENRIE, *my extreame and mortall* Enemie, *ſo ſoone as hee had knowledge of my beeing aliue, imagined and wrought all the ſubtill waies and meanes hee could, to procure my finall Deſtruction. For my mortall* Enemie *hath not onely falſly ſurmiſed mee to bee a fayned* Perſon, *giuing mee* Nick-names, *ſo abuſing the World; but alſo, to deferre and put mee from entrie into* England, *hath offered large Summes of* Money, *to corrupt the* Princes *and their* Miniſters, *with whom I haue beene retayned; and made importune* Labours *to certaine* Seruants *about my* Perſon, *to murther or poyſon mee, and others to forſake and leaue my Righteous* Quarrell, *and to depart from my* Seruice, *as Sir* ROBERT CLIFFORD, *and others. So that euery*

Man

Man of Reason may well perceiue, that HENRIE, calling himselfe King of England, needed not to haue bestowed such great Summes of Treasure, nor so to haue busied himselfe with importune and incessant Labour and Industrie, to compasse my Death and Ruine, if I had beene such a fained Person. But the truth of my Cause beeing so manifest, moued the most Christian King CHARLES, and the Lady Duchesse Dowager of Burgundie, my most Deare Aunt, not onely to acknowledge the truth thereof, but louingly to assist mee. But it seemeth that GOD aboue (for the good of this whole Island, and the knitting of these two Kingdomes of England and Scotland in a strait Concord and Amitie, by so great an Obligation) had reserued the placing of mee in the Imperiall Throne of England, for the Armes and Succours of your Grace. Neither is it the first time that a King of Scotland hath supported them, that were bereft and spoyled of the Kingdome of England; as of late (in fresh memorie) it was done in the Person of HENRY the Sixth. Wherefore for that your Grace hath giuen cleare Signes, that you are in no Noble qualitie inferiour to your Royall Ancestours; I, so distressed a Prince, was hereby mooued to come and put my Selfe into your

Royall

Royall *Hands, desiring your Assistance to recouer my* Kingdome *of* England; *promising faithfully to beare my* Selfe *towards your* Grace *no otherwise, than If I were your owne Naturall* Brother, *and will vpon the Recouerie of mine* Inheritance, *gratefully doe you all the* Pleasure *that is in my vtmost* Power.

AFter PERKIN had told his Tale, King IAMES answered brauely and wisely; *That whatsoeuer hee were, hee should not repent him, of putting himselfe into his hands.* And from that time forth, though there wanted not some about him, that would haue perswaded him, that all was but an *Illusion*; yet notwithstanding, either taken by PERKINS amiable and alluring behauiour, or inclining to the recommendation of the great *Princes* abroade, or willing to take an occasion of a Warre against King HENRY, hee entertained him in all things, as became the person of RICHARD *Duke* of *Yorke*; embraced his Quarrell; and (the more to put it out of doubt, that hee tooke him to bee a great *Prince*, and not a *Representation* onely) hee gaue consent, that this *Duke* should take to wife the *Lady* KATHERINE GORDON, daughter to the *Earle Huntley*, beeing a neare Kinswoman to the King himselfe, and a young *Virgin* of excellent beautie and vertue.

Not long after, the King of *Scots* in person, with PERKIN in his company, entred with a great Armie (though it consisted chiefly of *Borderers*, beeing raysed somewhat suddenly) into *Northumberland*. And PERKIN, for a *Perfume* before him as hee went,

caused to be published a *Proclamation* of this tenor following, in the name of RICHARD *Duke* of *Yorke*, true inheritor of the Crowne of *England*.

The Originall of this *Proclamation* remaineth with Sir *Robert Cotton*, a worthy Preseruer and Treasurer of rare Antiquities: from whose *Manuscripts* I haue had much light for the furnishing of this Worke.

IT *hath pleased* GOD, *Who putteth downe the* Mightie *from their* Seate, *and exalteth the* Humble, *and suffereth not the Hopes of the* Iust *to perish in the end, to giue Vs meanes at the length, to shew Our Selues armed vnto Our Leiges and People of* England. *But far bee it from Vs, to intend their hurt and dammage, or to make Warre vpon them, otherwise than to deliuer* Our Selfe *and them from* Tyrannie *and* Oppression. *For, our mortall Enemie* HENRY TIDDER, *a false* Vsurper *of the* Crowne *of* England, (*which to Vs by* Naturall *and* Lineall Right *appertaineth*) *knowing in his owne Heart Our vndoubted Right, (Wee being the very* RICHARD, Duke *of* Yorke, *younger* Sonne, *and now suruiuing* Heire-male *of the Noble and Victorious* EDWARD *the Fourth, late King of* England) *hath not onely depriued Vs of Our* Kingdome, *but likewise by all foule and wicked meanes, sought to betray Vs, and bereaue Vs of Our* Life. *Yet if his* Tyrannie *onely extended it selfe to Our* Person (*although Our* Royall Bloud *teacheth Vs to bee sensible of* Iniuries) *it should bee lesse to Our Griefe. But this*

TID-

TIDDER, *who boasteth himselfe to haue ouerthrown a* Tyrant, *hath euer since his first entrance into his* Vsurped Reigne, *put little in practice, but* Tyrannie *and the feats thereof.*

For King RICHARD, *our Vnnaturall Vncle, although desire of* Rule *did blinde him, yet in his other actions (like a true* PLANTAGENET) *was* Noble, *and loued the* Honour *of the* Realme, *and the Contentment and Comfort of his Nobles and People. But this our* Mortall Enemie (*agreeable to the meanesse of his Birth*) *hath troden vnder foote the* honour *of this* Nation; *selling our best* Confederates *for Money, and making Merchandize of the* Bloud, Estates, *and* Fortunes *of our* Peeres *and* Subiects, *by fained* Warres, *and dishonourable* Peace, *onely to enrich his Coffers. Nor vnlike hath beene his hatefull Mis-gouernement, and euill Deportments at home. First, hee hath (to fortifie his false Quarrell) caused diuers* Nobles *of this our* Realme (*whom hee held Suspect, & stood in dread of*) *to be cruelly murthred; as our Cousin Sir* WILLIAM STANLEY Lord Chamberlain, *Sir* SIMON MOVNTFORT, *Sir* ROBERT RATCLIFFE, WILLIAM DAWBENEY, HVMPHREY STAFFORD, *and many others, besides such as haue dearely bought their liues with intolerable* Ransomes.

Some of which Nobles *are now in the* Sanctuary. *Also hee hath long kept, and yet keepeth in Prison, our right entirely welbeloued* Cosen, EDWARD, *Sonne and Heire to our Vnckle* Duke *of* Clarence, *and others; with-holding from them their rightfull* Inheritance, *to the intent they should neuer be of might and power, to aide and assist vs at our neede, after the dutie of their* Liegeances. *Hee also married by Compulsion certaine of our* Sisters, *and also the* Sister *of our said* Cosen *the* Earle *of* VVarwicke, *and diuers other Ladies of the* Royall Bloud, *vnto certaine of his* Kinsmen *and Friends of simple and low Degree; and putting apart all Well-disposed* Nobles, *he hath none in fauour and trust about his Person, but Bishop* FOX, SMITH, BRAY, LOVEL, OLIVER KING, DAVID OWEN, RISELEY, TVRBERVILE, TILER, CHOLMLEY, EMPSON, IAMES HOBART, IOHN CVT, GARTH, HENRY VVYAT, *and such other Caitifes and Villaines of Birth, which by subtile inuentions and Pilling of the People, haue beene the principall* Finders, Occasioners, *and* Counsellors *of the Mis-rule and Mischiefe now reigning in* England.

Wee remembring these Premisses, with the great and execrable Offences *daily committed, and done by our foresaid great* Enemie, *and his* Adhe-

Adherents; *in breaking the* Liberties *and* Franchiſes *of our* Mother *the* Holy Church, *vpon pretences of Wicked and Heatheniſh* Policie, *to the high diſpleaſure of Almightie* GOD; *beſides the manifold* Treaſons, *abominable* Murthers, Man-ſlaughters, Robberies, Extortions, *the dayly Pilling of the People, by* Diſmes, Taxes, Tallages, Beneuolences, *and other vnlawfull* Impoſitions, *and grieuous* Exactions, *with many other haynous* Effects, *to the likely deſtruction and deſolation of the whole* Realme: *ſhall by Gods Grace, and the helpe and aſſiſtance of the great* Lords *of our* Bloud, *with the Counſell of other ſaid* Perſons, *ſee that the Commodities of our* Realme *bee imployed to the moſt aduantage of the ſame; the entercouſe of* Merchandiſe *betwixt* Realme *and* Realme, *to bee miniſtred and handled, as ſhall more bee to the* Common weale, *and proſperity of our* Subiects; *and all ſuch* Diſmes, Taxes, Tallages, Beneuolences, *vnlawfull* Impoſitions, *and grieuous* Exactions, *as bee aboue rehearſed to bee fore-done and layd apart, and neuer from henceforth to bee called vpon, but in ſuch caſes as our* noble Progenitors *Kings of* England, *haue of old time bin accuſtomed to haue the Ayde, Succour, and helpe of their Subiects and true Liege-men.*

And further, wee doe out of our Grace *and* Cle-

Clemencie, *hereby as well publish and promise to all our* Subiects *Remission and free Pardon of all By-past* Offences *whatsoeuer, against our* Person, *or* Estate, *in adhering to our said* Enemie, *by whom (wee know well) they haue beene amis-led, if they shall within time conuenient submit themselues vnto Vs. And for such as shall come with the foremost, to assist our Righteous* Quarrell, *wee shall make them so farre partakers of our Princely* Fauour *and* Bountie, *as shall bee highly for the Comfort of them and theirs, both during their Life, and after their Death. As also wee shall by all meanes, which* God *shall put into our hands, demeane our selues to giue Royall contentment to all* Degrees *and* Estates *of our People, maintaining the* Liberties *of* Holy Church *in their* Entire, *preseruing the* Honours, Priuiledges, *and* Prehemineneces *of our* Nobles, *from* Contempt or disparagement, *according to the* Dignitie *of their* Bloud. *Wee shall also vnyoake our People from all heauie* Burthens, *and* Endurances, *and confirme our* Cities, Boroughes, *and* Townes, *in their* Charters *&* Freedoms, *with inlargement, where it shalbe deserued; and in all points giue our Subiects cause to thinke, that the blessed and debonaire* Gouernment *of our Noble* Father *King* Edward *(in his last times) is in vs reuiued.*

And

And for as much as the putting to death, or taking aliue of our said Mortall Enemie, *may bee a meane to stay much effusion of* Blood, *which otherwise may ensue, if by* Compulsion *or faire* Promises, *hee shall draw after him any number of our* Subiects *to resist vs; which wee desire to auoyd (though wee bee certainely informed that our said* Enemie *is purposed and prepared to flye the* Land, *hauing already made ouer great Masses of the* Treasure *of our* Crowne, *the better to support him in* Forraine Parts) *Wee doe hereby declare, That whosoeuer shall take or distresse our said* Enemie (*though the* Party *bee of neuer so meane a* Condition) *hee shall bee by Vs rewarded with a Thousand Pound in* Money, *forthwith to bee laid downe to him, and an Hundred Markes by the yeare of* Inheritance; *besides that hee may otherwise merit, both toward God and all good People, for the destruction of such a* Tyrant.

Lastly, wee doe all men to wit, and herein wee take also God to witnesse, That whereas GOD *hath mooued the Heart of our Deerest* Cousin, *the King of* Scotland, *to aide vs in Person, in this our righteous* Quarrell; *it is altogether without any Pact or Promise, or so much as demaund of any thing, that may preiudice our* Crowne *or* Subiects: *But contrariwise*

wise with promise on our said Cousins *part, that whensoeuer hee shall finde vs in sufficient strength to get the vpper hand of our* Enemie *(which wee hope will bee very suddenly) hee will forthwith peaceably returne into his owne* Kingdome; *contenting himselfe onely with the glorie of so Honourable an* Enterprise, *and our true and faithfull Loue and Amitie. Which wee shall euer (by the* Grace *of* Almightie GOD) *so order, as shall bee to the great comfort of both* Kingdomes.

BVt PERKINS *Proclamation* did little edifie with the people of *England*; neither was hee the better welcome for the company hee came in. Wherefore the King of *Scotland* seeing none came in to PERKIN, nor none stirred any where in his fauour, turned his enterprise into a *Rode*; and wasted and destroyed the Countrie of *Northumberland*, with fire and sword. But hearing that there were Forces comming against him, and not willing that they should finde his Men heauie and laden with bootie, hee returned into *Scotland* with great Spoyles, deferring further prosecution, till another time. It is said, that PERKIN acting the part of a *Prince* handsomely, when hee saw the *Scottish* fell to waste the Countrey, came to the King in a passionate manner, making great lamentation, and desired, That that might not bee the manner of making the Warre; for that no *Crowne* was so deare to his minde, as that hee desired to purchase it with the bloude and ruine of his *Countrey*. Whereunto the King answered halfe in sport; that hee doubted much, hee was carefull for that that was none of his, and that

that hee ſhould bee too good a *Steward* for his Enemie, to ſaue the Countrie to his vſe.

By this time, beeing the Eleuenth yeare of the King, the Interruption of Trade betweene the *Engliſh* and the *Flemmiſh*, beganne to pinch the *Merchants* of both Nations very ſore. Which mooued them, by all meanes they could deuiſe, to affect and diſpoſe their *Soueraignes* reſpectiuely, to open the *Entercourſe* againe. Wherein, time fauoured them. For the *Arch-Duke* and his *Councell* beganne to ſee, that PERKIN would prooue but a *Runnagate*, and *Citizen of the World*; and that it was the part of children to fall out about *Babies*. And the King on his part, after the Attempts vpon *Kent* and *Northumberland*, beganne to haue the buſineſſe of PERKIN in leſſe eſtimation; ſo as hee did not put it to accompt, in any Conſultation of *State*. But that that mooued him moſt, was, that beeing a King that loued Wealth and Treaſure, hee could not endure to haue *Trade* ſicke, nor any Obſtruction to continue in the *Gate-veine*, which diſperſeth that bloud. And yet he kept State ſo farre, as firſt to bee ſought vnto. Wherein the *Merchant-Aduenturers* likewiſe, (beeing a ſtrong Companie at that time, and well vnderſet with rich Men, and good order) did hold out brauely; taking off the Commodities of the *Kingdome*, though they lay dead vpon their hands for want of *Vent*. At the laſt, *Commiſſioners* met at *London*, to Treate. On the Kings part; Biſhop FOXE Lord *Priuy Seale*, *Viſcount Wells*, KENDAL Prior of Saint IOHNS, WARHAM Maſter of the *Rolles*, who beganne to gaine much vpon the Kings opinion; VRSWICK, who was almoſt euer one; and RISELY. On the *Arch-Dukes* part, the Lord BEVERS his *Admirall*, the Lord VERVNSEL *Preſident* of *Flanders*, and others. Theſe concluded a perfect Treatie, both of *Amitie* and *Intercourſe*,

course, betweene the *King* and the *Arch-Duke*; Contayning Articles both of *State*, *Commerce*, and *Free-Fishing*. This is that *Treatie*, which the *Flemmings* call at this day, *Intercursus Magnus*; both becauſe it is more compleat, than the precedent Treaties, of the Third and Fourth yeares of the King: and chiefly to giue it a difference, from the *Treatie* that followed in the One and twentieth yeare of the King: which they call *Intercursus Malus*. In this *Treatie*, there was an expreſſe Article againſt the *Reception* of the *Rebels* of either *Prince* by other; purporting, that if any ſuch *Rebell* ſhould bee required by the *Prince* whoſe *Rebell* hee was, of the *Prince Confederate*, that forthwith the *Prince Confederate* ſhould by *Proclamation* command him to auoyde the Countrey. Which if hee did not within fifteene daies, the *Rebell* was to ſtand proſcribed, and put out of *Protection*. But neuertheleſſe in this Article, PERKIN was not named, neither perhaps contained, becauſe hee was no *Rebell*. But by this meanes his wings were clipt of his Followers, that were *Engliſh*. And it was expreſly compriſed in the *Treatie*, that it ſhould extend to the *Territories* of the *Ducheſſe Dowager*. After the *Intercourſe* thus reſtored, The *Engliſh Merchants* came againe to their *Manſion* at *Antwerpe*, where they were receiued with *Proceſſion* and great Ioy.

The Winter following, beeing the Twelfth yeare of his reigne, The King called againe his *Parliament*: where hee did much exaggerate both the *Malice*, and the cruell *Predatory Warre* lately made by the King of *Scotland*; That that King, being in Amitie with him, and no wayes prouoked, ſhould ſo burne in hatred towards him, as to drinke of the *Lees* and *Dreggs* of PERKINS *Intoxication*, who was euery where elſe detected and diſcarded: And that when hee perceiued it was out of his reach, to doe the King any hurt,

hee had turned his Armes vpon vnarmed and vnprouided *People*, to ſpoyle onely and depopulate, contrary to the *Lawes* both of *Warre* and *Peace*: Concluding, that hee could neither with Honour, nor with the ſafety of his People, to whom he did owe Protection, let paſſe theſe wrongs vnreuenged. The *Parliament* vnderſtood him well, and gaue him a *Subſidie*, limited to the ſumme of one hundred and twentie thouſand Pounds, beſides two *Fifteenes*. For his *Warres* were alwaies to him as a *Mine* of *Treaſure*, of a ſtrange kind of *Ore*; *Iron* at the top, and *Gold* and *Siluer* at the bottome. At this *Parliament* (for that there had beene ſo much time ſpent in making *Lawes* the yeare before, and for that it was called purpoſely in reſpect of the *Scottiſh Warre*) there were no *Lawes* made to bee remembred. Onely there paſſed a *Law*, at the Sute of the *Merchant-Aduenturers* of *England*, againſt the *Merchant-Aduenturers* of *London*, for *Monopolizing* and exacting vpon the Trade: Which it ſeemeth they did, a little to ſaue themſelues, after the hard time they had ſuſtained by want of Trade. But thoſe *Innouations* were taken away by *Parliament*.

But it was fatall to the King, to fight for his money. And though hee auoyded to fight with *Enemies* abroad, yet hee was ſtill enforced to fight for it with *Rebels* at home. For no ſooner beganne the *Subſidie* to bee leuied in *Corne-wall*, but the People there began to grudge and murmure. The *Corniſh* being a Race of Men, ſtout of ſtomacke, mighty of Bodie and Limme, and that liued hardly in a barren Countrey, and many of them could (for a neede) liue vnder ground, that were *Tinners*; they mutteredextreamely, that it was a thing not to be ſuffered, that for a little ſtirre of the *Scots*, ſoone blowne ouer, they ſhould be thus grinded to Powder with *Payments*: And ſaid, it was for them to pay, that had too much, and liued idly. But

they would eate the bread they got with the ſweat of their browes, and no man ſhould take it from them. And as in the *Tides* of *People* once vp, there want not commonly ſtirring *Windes* to make them more rough: So this *People* did light vpon two *Ring-leaders*, or Captaines of the *Rout*. The one was one MICHAEL IOSEPH, a *Black-ſmith* or *Farrier* of *Bodmin*; a notable talking Fellow, and no leſſe deſirous to bee talked of. The other was THOMAS FLAMMOCKE, a *Lawyer*; who by telling his neighbours commonly vpon any occaſion, that the *Law* was on their ſide, had gotten great ſway amongſt them. This Man talked learnedly, and as if he could tell how to make a *Rebellion*, and neuer breake the *Peace*. Hee told the *People*, that *Subſidies* were not to be granted nor leuied in this caſe; that is, for *Warres* of *Scotland* (for that the *Law* had prouided another courſe, by ſeruice of *Eſcuage*, for thoſe Iourneyes) much leſſe when all was quiet, and Warre was made but a *Pretence* to poll and pill the *People*: And therefore that it was good, they ſhould not ſtand now like Sheepe before the Shearers, but put on Harneſſe, and take Weapons in their hands: Yet to doe no creature hurt; but goe and deliuer the King a *Strong Petition*, for the laying downe of thoſe grieuous *Payments*, and for the puniſhment of thoſe that had giuen him that Counſell; to make others beware how they did the like in time to come: And ſaid, for his part hee did not ſee how they could doe the duetie of true *Engliſh-men*, and good *Liege-men*, except they did deliuer the King from ſuch wicked Ones that would deſtroy both Him and the Countrey. Their ayme was at *Arch-Biſhop* MORTON, and Sir REGINOLD BRAY, who were the Kings *Skreens* in this Enuy.

After that theſe two, FLAMMOCKE and the *Blacke-ſmith*, had, by ioynt and ſeuerall *Pratings*, found

tokens of consent in the *Multitude*, they offered themselues to leade them, vntill they should heare of better men to be their *Leaders*; which they said would be ere long: Telling them further, that they would be but their seruants, and first in euery danger; but doubted not but to make both the *West-end* and the *East-end* of *England* to meete in so good a *Quarrell*; and that all (rightly vnderstood) was but for the Kings seruice. The *People*, vpon these seditious *Instigations*, did arme (most of them with *Bowes*, and *Arrowes*, and *Bills*, and such other Weapons of rude and Countrey People) and forthwith vnder the *Command* of their *Leaders* (which in such cases is euer at pleasure) marched out of *Corne-wall*, through *Deuonshire*, vnto *Taunton* in *Somersetshire*, without any slaughter, violence, or spoyle of the Countrey. At *Taunton* they killed, in furie, an officious and eager *Commissioner* for the *Subsidie*, whom they called The *Prouost* of *Perin*. Thence they marched to *Wells*: where the Lord AVDLEY (with whom their *Leaders* had, before, some secret *Intelligence*) a Noble-man of an ancient *Family*, but vnquiet and popular, and aspiring to Ruine, came-in to them, and was by them (with great Gladnesse and cries of Ioy) accepted as their *Generall*; they beeing now proud, that they were ledde by a *Noble-man*. The *Lord* AVDLEY ledde them on from *Wells* to *Salisbury*, and from *Salisbury* to *Winchester*. Thence the foolish people, who (in effect) led their *Leaders*, had a minde to bee led into *Kent*; fansying, that the People there would ioyne with them; contrary to all reason or iudgement; considering, the *Kentish-men* had shewed great *Loyaltie* and Affection to the King so lately before. But the rude People had heard FLAMMOCKE say, that Kent *was neuer* Conquered, and *that they were the freest People of* England. And, vpon these vaine Noises, they looked for great matters at their hands,

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in a cauſe which they conceited to be for the libertie of the *Subiect*. But when they were come into *Kent*, the Countrey was ſo well ſettled, both by the Kings late kind vſage towards them, and by the credit and power of the *Earle* of *Kent*, the *Lord* ABERGAVENNIE, and the *Lord* COBHAM, as neither *Gentleman* nor *Yeoman* came-in to their aide; which did much dampe and diſmay many of the ſimpler ſort: Inſomuch, as diuers of them did ſecretly flie from the *Army*, and went home. But the ſturdier ſort, and thoſe that were moſt engaged, ſtood by it, and rather waxed *Proud*, than failed in *Hopes* and *Courage*. For as it did ſomewhat appall them, that the people came not in to them; ſo it did no leſſe encourage them, that the Kings *Forces* had not ſet vpon them, hauing marched from the *Weſt* vnto the *Eaſt* of *England*. Wherefore they kept on their way, and encamped vpon *Blacke-heath*, betweene *Greenwich* and *Eltham*; threatning either to bid *Battell* to the King (for now the Seas went higher than to MORTON, and BRAIE) or to take *London* within his view; imagining with themſelues, there to finde no leſſe *Feare*, than *Wealth*.

But to returne to the King. When firſt hee heard of this *Commotion* of the *Corniſh-men*, occaſioned by the *Subſidie*, he was much troubled therewith: Not for it ſelfe, but in regard of the Concurrence of other *Dangers*, that did hang ouer him at that time. For hee doubted leſt a *Warre* from *Scotland*, a *Rebellion* from *Corne-wall*, and the Practices and *Conſpiracies* of PERKIN and his *Partakers*, would come vpon him at once; Knowing well, that it was a dangerous *Triplicitie* to a *Monarchie*, to haue the *Armes* of a *Forreiner*, the *Diſcontents* of *Subiects*, and the *Title* of a *Pretender*, to meete. Neuertheleſſe, the *Occaſion* tooke him in ſome part well prouided. For as ſoone as the *Parliament* had broken vp, the King had preſently rayſed a

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puiſſant *Armie*, to *Warre* vpon *Scotland*. And King IAMES of *Scotland* likewiſe, on his part, had made great Preparations eyther for defence, or for new aſſayling of *England*. But as for the Kings *Forces*, they were not onely in preparation, but in readineſſe preſently to ſet forth, vnder the Conduct of DAWBENEY, the *Lord Chamberlaine*. But as ſoone as the King vnderſtood of the *Rebellion* of *Cornwall*, hee ſtayed thoſe *Forces*, retaining them for his owne ſeruice and ſafetie. But therewithall hee diſpatched the *Earle* of *Surrey* into the *North*, for the defence and ſtrength of thoſe Parts, in caſe the *Scots* ſhould ſtirre. But for the courſe hee held towards the *Rebels*, it was vtterly differing from his former cuſtome, and practice; which was euer full of forwardneſſe and celeritie, to make head againſt them, or to ſet vpon them as ſoone as euer they were in *Action*. This hee was wont to doe. But now, beſides that hee was attempered by *Yeares*, and leſſe in loue with *Dangers*, by the continued Fruition of a *Crowne*; it was a time when the various appearance to his Thoughts of *Perils* of ſeuerall *Natures*, and from diuers *Parts*, did make him iudge it his beſt and ſureſt way, to keepe his Strength together, in the Seate and *Centre* of his *Kingdome*. According to the ancient *Indian Embleme*; in ſuch a ſwelling Seaſon, *To hould the hand vpon the middle of the Bladder, that no ſide might riſe.* Beſides, there was no neceſsitie put vpon him, to alter this Counſell. For neither did the *Rebels* ſpoyle the *Countrey*; in which caſe it had beene diſhonour to abandon his *People*: Neyther on the other ſide, did their *Forces* gather or encreaſe, which might haſten him to precipitate and aſſayle them, before they grew too ſtrong. And laſtly, both *Reaſon* of *Eſtate* and *Warre* ſeemed to agree with this courſe; For that *Inſurrections* of baſe *People* are commonly more furious in

in their Beginnings. And by this meanes alſo hee had them the more at *Vantage*, beeing tyred and harraſſed with a long march; and more at *Mercie*, being cut off farre from their *Countrey*, and therefore not able by any ſudden flight to get to *Retrait*, and to renew the *Troubles*.

When therefore the *Rebels* were encamped on *Blacke-Heath*, vpon the *Hill*, whence they might behold the Citie of *London*, and the faire *Valley* about it: the King knowing well, that it ſtood him vpon, by how much the more hee had hitherto protracted the time in not encountring them, by ſo much the ſooner to diſpatch with them, that it might appeare to haue beene no *Coldneſſe* in foreſlowing, but *Wiſedome* in chooſing his time; reſolued with all ſpeede to aſſayle them, and yet with that Prouidence, and Suretie, as ſhould leaue little to *Venture* or *Fortune*. And hauing very great and puiſſant *Forces* about him, the better to maſter all *Euents* and *Accidents*, hee diuided them into three parts. The firſt was ledde by the *Earle* of *Oxford* in chiefe, aſsiſted by the *Earles* of *Eſſex* and *Suffolke*. Theſe *Noblemen* were appointed, with ſome *Cornets* of *Horſe*, and *Bands* of *Foot*, and good ſtore of *Artillerie* wheeling about, to put themſelues beyond the *Hill*, where the *Rebels* were encamped; and to beſet all the Skirts and Deſcents thereof, except thoſe that lay towards *London*; whereby to haue theſe *Wilde Beaſts* (as it were) in a *Toyle*. The ſecond part of his *Forces* (which were thoſe that were to bee moſt in *Action*, and vpon which hee relyed moſt for the *Fortune* of the *Day*) hee did aſsigne to bee ledde by the *Lord Chamberlaine*, who was appointed to ſet vpon the *Rebels* in Front, from that ſide which is toward *London*. The third part of his *Forces* (beeing likewiſe great and braue *Forces*) hee retained about himſelfe, to bee ready, vpon all *Euents*, to reſtore the *Fight*, or

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consummate the *Victorie*, and meane while, to secure the *Citie*. And for that purpose hee encamped in Person in Saint GEORGES *Fields*, putting himselfe betweene the *Citie*, and the *Rebels*. But the *Citie*, of *London* (specially at the first) vpon the neare encamping of the *Rebels*, was in great Tumult: As it vseth to bee with wealthy and populous *Cities* (especially those, which, for greatnesse and fortune, are *Queenes* of their *Regions*) who seldome see out of their *Windowes*, or from their *Towers*, an *Armie* of enemies. But that which troubled them most, was the conceit, that they dealt with a *Rout* of *People*, with whom there was no Composition, or Condition, or orderly Treating, if neede were; but likely to bee bent altogether vpon Rapine and Spoyle. And although they had heard that the *Rebels* had behaued themselues quietly and modestly, by the way as they went; yet they doubted much, That would not last, but rather make them more hungry, and more in appetite, to fall vpon spoyle in the end. Wherefore there was great running to and fro of *People*, some to the *Gates*, some to the *Walles*, some to the *Water-side*; giuing themselues *Alarmes*, and *Panick feares* continually. Neuertheless, both TATE the *Lord Maior*, and SHAW, and HADDON, the *Sheriffs*, did their parts stoutly and well, in arming and ordering the *People*. And the King likewise did adioyne some *Captaines* of experience in the *Warres*, to aduise and assist the *Citizens*. But soone after, when they vnderstood that the King had so ordered the matter, that the *Rebels* must winne three *Battells*, before they could approach the *Citie*, and that hee had put his own *Person* betweene the *Rebels* and them, and that the great care was rather how to impound the *Rebels*, that none of them might escape, than that any doubt was made to vanquish them; they grew to bee quiet and out of feare.

The rather, for the confidence they repoſed (which was not ſmall) in the three Leaders, OXFORD, ESSEX, and DAWBENEY; All, men famed and loued amongſt the *People*. As for IASPER *Duke of Bedford*, whom the King vſed to employ with the firſt in his Wars, he was then ſicke, and dyed ſoone after.

It was the two and twentieth of *Iune*, and a *Saturday* (which was the *Day* of the weeke the King fanſied) when the *Battaile* was fought; though the King had, by all the Art hee could deuiſe, giuen out a falſe Day, as if hee prepared to giue the *Rebells* Battaile on the *Monday* following, the better to find them vnprouided, and in diſarray. The *Lords*, that were appointed to circle the *Hill*, had ſome daies before planted themſelues (as at the Receipt) in places conuenient. In the afternoone towards the decline of the day (which was done, the better to keepe the *Rebells* in opinion that they ſhould not fight that day) the Lord DAWBENEY marched on towards them, and firſt beat ſome *Troups* of them from *Detford-bridge*, where they fought manfully; But beeing in no great number were ſoone driuen backe, and fled vp to their maine *Armie* vpon the *Hill*. The *Armie*, at that time hearing of the approach of the Kings *Forces*, were putting themſelues in Array, not without much Confuſion. But neither had they placed vpon the firſt high-ground towards the *Bridge*, any *Forces* to ſecond the *Troupes* below, that kept the *Bridge*; neither had they brought forwards their *Maine Battaile* (which ſtood in array farre into the *Heath*) neare to the aſcent of the *Hill*. So that the *Earle* with his *Forces* mounted the *Hill*, and recouered the *Plaine*, without reſiſtance. The Lord DAWBENEY charged them with great furie; Inſomuch, as it had like (by accident) to haue brandled the Fortune of the Day. For, by inconſiderate Forwardneſſe in fighting in the head of his *Troupes*, he

he was taken by the *Rebells*; but, immediately reſcued, and deliuered. The *Rebells* maintained the Fight for a ſmall time, and for their Perſons ſhewed no want of courage: but beeing ill armed, and ill led, and without *Horſe* or *Artillerie*, they were with no great difficultie cut in peeces, and put to flight. And for their three Leaders; the Lord AVDLEY, the *Black-ſmith*, and FLAMMOCKE (as, commonly the Captaines of *Commotions* are but *halfe-couraged Men*) ſuffered themſelues to bee taken aliue. The number ſlaine on the *Rebells* part, were ſome two thouſand Men; their *Armie* amounting (as it is ſaid) vnto the number of ſixteene thouſand. The reſt were (in effect) all taken; for that the *Hill*, as was ſaid, was encompaſſed with the Kings *Forces* round about. On the Kings part there dyed about three hundred; moſt of them ſhot with Arrowes, which were reported to bee of the length of a *Taylors yard*: So ſtrong and mighty a *Bow* the *Corniſh-men* were ſaid to draw.

The *Victorie* thus obtained, the King created diuers *Bannerets*, as well vpon *Black-heath*, where his *Lieutenant* had wonne the *Fielde* (whither hee rode in Perſon to performe the ſaid *Creation*) as in Saint GEORGES *Fieldes*, where his owne Perſon had bin encamped. And for matter of *Liberalitie*, he did (by open *Edict*) giue the goods of all the *Priſoners*, vnto thoſe that had taken them; either to take them in *Kinde*, or compound for them as they could. After matter of *Honour* and *Liberalitie*, followed matter of *Seueritie* and *Execution*. The Lord AVDLEY was led from *Newgate* to *Tower-hill*, in a *Paper Coate* painted with his own *Armes*; the *Armes* reuerſed, the *Coate* torne, and hee at *Tower-hill* beheaded. FLAMMOCKE, and the *Black-ſmith* vvere hanged, drawn, and quartered at *Tiburne*; The *Black-ſmith* taking pleaſure vpon the *Hurdle* (as it ſeemeth by vvords

that hee vttered) to thinke that hee ſhould be famous in aftertimes. The King was once in minde to haue ſent downe FLAMMOCKE, and the *Blackſmith*, to haue beene executed in *Corne-wall*, for the more terrour. But, beeing aduertiſed, that the *Countrey* was yet vnquiet and boyling, hee thought better not to irritate the *People* further. All the reſt were pardoned by *Proclamation*, and to take out their *Pardons* vnder *Seale*, as many as would. So that, more than the bloud drawn in the *Field*, the King did ſatisfie himſelfe with the liues of onely three *Offenders*, for the expiation of this great *Rebellion*.

It was a ſtrange thing, to obſerue the varietie and inequalitie of the Kings *Executions* and *Pardons*. And a man would thinke it, at the firſt, a kinde of *Lotterie* or Chance. But, looking into it more nearely, one ſhall find there was reaſon for it; much more perhaps, than (after ſo long a diſtance of time) wee can now diſcerne. In the *Kentiſh Commotion* (which was but an handfull of men) there were executed to the number of one hundred and fiftie; and, in this ſo mighty a *Rebellion*, but three: Whether it were, that the king put to accompt the men that were ſlaine in the *Fielde*: or that hee was not willing to bee ſeuere in a popular Cauſe; or that the harmleſſe behauiour of this *People* (that came from the *Weſt* of *England*, to the *Eaſt*, without miſchiefe almoſt, or ſpoyle of the *Countrey*) did ſomewhat mollifie him, and mooue him to Compaſsion; or laſtly, that he made a great difference betweene *People*, that did Rebell vpon *Wantonneſſe*, and them that did Rebell vpon *Want*.

After the *Corniſh-men* were defeated, there came from *Calice* to the King, an honourable *Ambaſſage* from the *French* King, which had arriued at *Calice* a Moneth before, and there was ſtayed in reſpect of the troubles; but honourably entertained and defrayed.

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The King, at their first comming, sent vnto them, & prayed them to haue patience, till a little *Smoake*, that was raised in his Countrie, were ouer; which would soone bee: Slighting (as his manner was) that openly, which neuertheleſſe he intended seriously.

This *Ambassage* concerned no great Affaire; but only the *Prolongation* of Dayes for payment of Monies, and some other Particulars of the *Frontiers*. And it was (indeed) but a wooing *Ambassage*; with good respects to entertaine the King in good affection: but nothing was done, or handled, to the derogation of the Kings late *Treatie* with the *Italians*.

But, during the time that the *Cornish-men* were in their march towards *London*, the King of *Scotland* (wel aduertised of all that passed, and knowing himselfe sure of *Warre* from *England*, whensoeuer those Stirs were appeased) neglected not his opportunitie; But, thinking the King had his hands full, entred the *Frontiers* of *England* againe with an *Armie*, and besieged the *Castle* of *Norham* in Person, with part of his Forces, sending the rest to Forrage the *Countrie*. But FOX, *Bishop* of *Duresme* (a wise man, and one that could see through the *Present*, to the *Future*) doubting as much before, had caused his *Castle* of *Norham* to bee strongly fortified, and furnished, with all kinde of *Munition*: And had manned it likewise, with a very great number of tall *Souldiours*, more than for the proportion of the *Castle*; reckoning rather vpon a sharpe *Assault*, than a long *Siege*. And for the *Countrey* likewise, hee had caused the *People* to withdraw their Cattell and Goods into *Fast Places*, that were not of easie approach; and sent in Post to the *Earle* of *Surrey* (who was not farre off, in *Yorkeshire*) to come in diligence to the Succour. So as the *Scottish King* both failed of doing good vpon the *Castle*, and his men had but a *Catching Harueſt* of their *Spoyles*. And when

when hee vnderstood, that the *Earle* of *Surrey* was comming on with great *Forces*, hee returned backe into *Scotland*. The *Earle* finding the *Castle* freed, and the enemie retired, pursued with all celeritie into *Scotland*; hoping to haue ouer-taken the *Scottish* King, and to haue giuen him *Battaile*; But not attaining him in time, sate downe before the *Castle* of *Aton* (one of the strongest places, then esteemed, betweene *Barwicke* and *Edenborough*) which in a small time hee tooke. And soone after, the *Scottish* King retyring further into his Countrey, and the weather being extraordinarie foule and stormie, the *Earle* returned into *England*. So that the *Expeditions* on both parts were (in effect) but a *Castle* taken, and a *Castle* distressed; not answerable to the puissance of the *Forces*, nor to the heat of the *Quarrell*, nor to the greatnes of the *Expectation*.

Amongst these *Troubles* both Ciuill and Externall, came into *England* from *Spaine* PETER HIALAS, some call him ELIAS (surely hee was the forerunner of the good *Hap*, that we enioy at this day. For, his *Ambassage* set the *Truce* betweene *England* and *Scotland*; the *Truce* drew on the *Peace*; the *Peace* the *Marriage*; and the *Marriage* the *Vnion* of the *Kingdomes*) a *Man* of great wisedome, and (as those times were) not vnlearned; sent from FERDINANDO and ISABELLA Kings of *Spaine* vnto the King, to treate a *Marriage* betweene KATHERINE their second daughter, and *Prince* ARTHVR. This *Treatie* was by him set in a very good way, and almost brought to perfection. But it so fell out by the way, that vpon some *Conference* which hee had with the King touching this businesse, the King (who had a great dexteritie in getting sodainely into the bosome of *Ambassadours* of forraine *Princes*, if he liked the men; Insomuch as he would many times communicate with them of his owne

owne affaires, yea and employ them in his seruice) fell into speech and discourse incidently, concerning the ending of the *Debates* and differences with *Scotland*. For the King naturally did not loue the barren *Warres* with *Scotland*, though he made his profit of the *Noise* of them. And he wanted not in the *Councell* of *Scotland* those that would aduise their King to meet him at the halfe way, and to giue ouer the *War* with *England*; pretending to bee good *Patriots*, but indeede fauouring the affaires of the King. Onely his heart was too great to beginne with *Scotland* for the motion of *Peace*. On the other side, he had met with an *Allie* of FERDINANDO of *Arragon*, as fit for his turne as could bee. For after that King FERDINANDO had, vpon assured Confidence of the *Marriage* to succeed, taken vpon him the person of a *Fraternall Allie* to the King, hee would not let (in a *Spanish grauitie*) to counsell the King in his owne affaires. And the King on his part not being wanting to himselfe, but making vse of euery mans humours, made his aduantage of this in such things as hee thought either not decent, or not pleasant to proceede from himselfe, putting them off as done by the *Counsell* of FERDINANDO. Wherefore hee was content that HIALAS (as in a matter mooued and aduised from HIALAS himselfe) should goe into *Scotland*, to treate of a *Concord* betweene the two Kings. HIALAS tooke it vpon him: and comming to the *Scottish* King, after hee had with much Art brought King IAMES to hearken to the more safe and quiet Counsells, wrote vnto the King, that hee hoped that *Peace* would with no great difficultie cement and close, if hee would send some wise and temperate *Counsellour* of his owne, that might treate of the *Conditions*. Whereupon the King directed *Bishop* FOX (who at that time was at his *Castle* of *Norham*) to conferre with HIALAS, and they both to treate with some

ſome *Commiſsioners*, deputed from the *Scottiſh* King. The *Commiſsioners* on both ſides met. But after much diſpute vpon the *Articles* and *Conditions* of *Peace*, propounded vpon eyther part, they could not conclude a *Peace*. The chiefe *Impediments* thereof was the demand of the King, to haue PERKIN deliuered into his hands, as a *Reproach* to all Kings, and a *Perſon* not protected by the *Law* of *Nations*. The King of *Scotland*, on the other ſide, peremptorily denied ſo to doe; ſaying, That he (for his part) was no *Competent Iudge* of PERKINS Title: But that he had receiued him as a *Suppliant*, protected him as a Perſon fled for *Refuge*, eſpouſed him with his *Kinſwoman*, and aided him with his *Armes*, vpon the beleefe that hee was a *Prince*; And therefore that hee could not now with his Honour ſo vnripp and (in a ſort) put a *Lye* vpon all that hee had ſaid and done before, as to deliuer him vp to his Enemies. The *Biſhop* likewiſe (who had certaine proud inſtructions from the King, at the leaſt in the *Front*, though there were a pliant clauſe at the *Foote*, that remitted all to the *Biſhops* diſcretion, and required him by no meanes to breake off in ill tearmes) after that he had fayled to obtaine the deliuerie of PERKIN, did mooue a ſecond point of his *Inſtructions*; which was, that the *Scottiſh* King would giue the King an *Enteruiew* in Perſon at *Newcaſtle*. But this being reported to the *Scottiſh* King, his anſwer was; *That he meant to treate a Peace, and not to goe a begging for it*. The *Biſhop* alſo (according to another Article of his *Inſtructions*) demanded *Reſtitution* of the Spoyles taken by the *Scottiſh*, or *Damages* for the ſame. But the *Scottiſh Commiſsioners* anſwered; *That that was but as Water ſpilt vpon the ground, which could not bee gotten vp againe; and that the Kings People were better able to beare the loſſe, than their Maſter to repaire it*. But in the end (as Perſons capable of reaſon)

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on both ſides they made rather a kinde of *Receſſe*, than a *Breach* of *Treaty*, & concluded vpon a *Truce* for ſome moneths following. But the King of *Scotland*, though hee would not formally retract his iudgement of PERKIN, wherein he had engaged himſelfe ſo farre; yet in his priuate opinion, vpon often ſpeech with the *Engliſh-men*, and diuers other aduertiſements, began to ſuſpect him for a *Counterfeit*. Wherefore in a Noble faſhion hee called him vnto him, and recounted the Benefits and fauours that he had done him, in making him his *Allie*, and in prouoking a Mighty and Opulent King by an *Offenſiue Warre* in his *Quarrell*, for the ſpace of two yeares together. Nay more, that he had refuſed an Honourable *Peace*, whereof he had a faire Offer, if he would haue deliuered him; and that to keepe his promiſe with him, he had deepely offended both his *Nobles* and *People*, whom he might not hold in any long diſcontent. And therefore required him to thinke of his own *Fortunes*, and to chooſe out ſome fitter place for his *Exile*: Telling him withall, that he could not ſay, but the *Engliſh* had forſaken him before the *Scottiſh*; for that vpon two ſeueral Trials, none had declared themſelues on his ſide. But neuertheleſſe hee would make good what he ſaid to him at his firſt receiuing, which was; *That hee ſhould not repent him, for putting himſelfe into his hands*; For that he would not caſt him off, but helpe him with Shipping and meanes, to tranſport him where he ſhould deſire. PERKIN, not deſcending at all from his *Stage-like* Greatneſſe, anſwered the King in few words; *That he ſaw his time was not yet come*; *But whatſoeuer his* Fortunes *were, he ſhould both thinke and ſpeake* Honour *of the King*. Taking his leaue, hee would not thinke on *Flanders*, doubting it was but hollow ground for him, ſince the *Treatie* of the *Arch-Duke* concluded the yeare before; but tooke his *Ladie*, and ſuch Followers

as would not leaue him, and ſailed ouer into *Ireland.*

This Twelfth yeare of the King, a little before this time, *Pope* ALEXANDER (who loued beſt thoſe *Princes* that were furtheſt off, and with whom he had leaſt to doe) taking very thankefully the Kings late entrance into *League*, for the defence of *Italie*, did remunerate him with an *Hallowed-Sword*, and *Cap-of-Maintenance* ſent by his *Nuncio.* *Pope* INNOCENT had done the like, but it was not receiued in that *Glory*. For the King appointed the *Maior* and his *Brethren* to meet the *Popes Orator* at *London-Bridge*, and all the *Streets* betweene the *Bridge-foote* and the Palace of *Paules* (where the King then lay) were garniſhed with the *Citizens*, ſtanding in their *Liueries.* And the Morrow after (being *All-hallowes day*) the King, attended with many of his *Prelates*, *Nobles*, and *Principall Courtiers*, went in *Proceſsion* to *Paules*, and the *Cap* and *Sword* were borne before him. And after the *Proceſsion*, the King himſelfe remaining ſeated in the *Quire*, the *Lord Archbiſhop* vpon the greece of the *Quire*, made a long *Oration*, ſetting forth the greatneſſe and *Eminencie* of that *Honour*, which the *Pope* (in theſe Ornaments and Enſignes of *Benediction*) had done the King; and how rarely, and vpon what high deſerts they vſed to bee beſtowed. And then recited the Kings principall *Acts* and *Merits*, which had made him appeare worthy in the eyes of his *Holineſſe* of this great *Honour.*

All this while the *Rebellion* of *Cornewall* (whereof wee haue ſpoken) ſeemed to haue no relation to PERKIN; ſaue that perhaps PERKINS *Proclamation* had ſtricken vpon the right Veine, in promiſing to lay downe *Exactions* and *Payments*, and ſo had made them now and then haue a *Kind-thought* on PERKIN. But now theſe *Bubbles* by much ſtirring began to meete, as

they

they vſe to doe vpon the top of *Water*. The Kings lenitie (by that time the *Corniſh Rebels*, who were taken and pardoned, and (as it was ſaid) manie of them ſold by them that had taken them, for twelue pence and two ſhillings a-peece, were come downe into their Countrey) had rather imboldened them, than reclaymed them. Inſomuch, as they ſtucke not to ſay to their Neighbours and Countrey-men, that *The King did well to pardon them, for that hee knew hee ſhould leaue few Subiects in* England, *if hee hanged all that were of their minde*: And beganne whetting and inciting one another to renew the *Commotion*. Some of the ſubtileſt of them, hearing of PERKINS being in *Ireland*, found meanes to ſend to him, to let him know, that if hee would come ouer to them, they would ſerue him.

When PERKIN heard this Newes, hee beganne to take heart againe, and aduiſed vpon it with his *Councell*, which were principally three; HERNE a *Mercer*, that had fledde for Debt; SKELTON a *Taylor*, and ASTLEY a *Scriuener*: for, *Secretarie* FRION was gone. Theſe told him, that hee was mightily ouerſeene, both when hee went into *Kent*, and when hee went into *Scotland*: The one being a place ſo neare *London*, and vnder the Kings Noſe; and the other, a Nation ſo diſtaſted with the People of *England*, that if they had loued him neuer ſo well, yet they would neuer haue taken his part in that Companie. But if hee had beene ſo happie, as to haue beene in *Cornewall* at the firſt, when the People began to take *Armes* there, hee had beene crowned at *Weſtminſter* before this time. For, theſe Kings (as hee had now experience) vvould ſell poore *Princes* for ſhooes: But hee muſt relye wholly vpon *People*; and therefore aduiſed him to ſayle ouer with all poſsible ſpeede into *Cornewall*. Which, accordingly hee did; hauing in his Companie

foure ſmall *Barks*, with ſome ſixe ſcore or ſeuen ſcore fighting men. Hee arriued in *September* at *Whitſand-Bay*; and forthwith came to *Bodmin*, the *Black-ſmiths* Town: Where there aſſembled vnto him to the number of three thouſand men of the rude People. There he ſet forth a new *Proclamation*, ſtroaking the People with faire Promiſes, and humouring them with *Inuectiues* againſt the King and his *Gouernment*. And, as it fareth with *Smoke*, that neuer loſeth it ſelfe till it bee at the higheſt; hee did now before his end raiſe his *Stile*, intituling himſelf no more RICHARD, *Duke* of *York*; but RICHARD the Fourth, King of *England*. His *Councell* aduiſed him, by all meanes, to make himſelfe *Maſter* of ſome good walled *Towne*; as well to make his Men finde the ſweetneſſe of rich *Spoyles*, and to allure to him all looſe and loſt *People*, by like hopes of *Bootie*; as to bee a ſure *Retrait* to his *Forces*, in caſe they ſhould haue any ill *Day*, or vnluckie *Chance* in the *Field*. Wherefore they tooke heart to them, and went on, and beſieged the Citie of *Exceſter*, the principall *Towne* for Strength and Wealth in thoſe Parts.

When they were comne before *Exceſter*, they forbare to vſe any Force at the firſt; but made continuall *Shouts* and *Out-cries*, to terrifie the *Inhabitants*. They did likewiſe in diuers places call and talke to them from vnder the Walls, to ioyne with them, and be of their *Partie*; telling them, that The King would make them another *London*, if they would bee the firſt *Towne* that ſhould acknowledge him. But they had not the wit to ſend to them, in any orderly faſhion, *Agents* or *choſen Men*, to tempt them, and to treat with them. The Citizens on their part ſhewed themſelues ſtout and loyall Subiects. Neyther was there ſo much as any *Tumult* or *Diuiſion* amongſt them: but all prepared themſelues for a valiant *Defence*, and making

good

good the *Towne*. For, well they saw, that the *Rebels* were of no such Number or Power, that they needed to feare them as yet: and well they hoped, that before their *Numbers* encreased, the Kings *Succours* would come-in. And, howsoeuer, they thought it the extreamest of Euils, To put themselues at the mercy of those hungry and disorderly People. Wherefore, setting all things in good order within the *Towne*, they neuertheless let-downe with Cords, from seuerall parts of the Walls priuily, seuerall *Messengers* (that, if one came to mischance, another might passe-on) which should aduertise the King of the State of the *Towne*, and implore his aide. PERKIN also doubted, that Succours would come ere long; and therefore resolued to vse his vtmost Force to assault the *Towne*: And for that purpose, hauing mounted *Scaling-Ladders* in diuers places vpon the Walls, made at the same instant an *Attempt* to force one of the *Gates*. But, hauing no *Artillery* nor *Engines*, and finding that hee could doe no good by ramming with Logges of *Timber*, nor by the vse of Iron *Barres* and Iron *Crowes*, and such other meanes at hand, hee had no way left him, but to set one of the *Gates* on fire: which hee did. But the Citizens, well perceiuing the Danger, before the *Gate* could bee fully consumed, blocked vp the *Gate*, and some space about it on the inside, with Fagots and other Fuell: which they likewise set on fire, and so repulsed fire with fire; And, in the meane time, raised vp *Rampiers* of earth, and cast vp deep *Trenches*, to serue in stead of *Wall* and *Gate*. And for the *Escaladaes*, they had so bad successe, as the *Rebels* were driuen from the *Wals*, with the losse of two hundred men.

The King, when hee heard of PERKINS Siege of *Excester*, made sport with it, and said to them that were about him, that *The King of Rake-hells was landed in the West, and that hee hoped now to haue the honour*

to

to see him, which hee could neuer yet doe. And it appeared plainely to those that were about the King, that he was indeed much ioied with the newes of PERKINS being in *English Ground*, where hee could haue no retrait by Land; thinking now, that hee should bee cured of those priuie *Stitches*, which hee had long had about his *Heart*, and had sometimes broken his *Sleeps* in the middest of all his Felicitie. And, to set all mens hearts on fire, hee did by all possible meanes let it appeare, that those, who should now doe him seruice to make an end of these troubles, should bee no lesse accepted of him, than hee that came vpon the *Eleuenth Houre*, and had the whole *Wages* of the *Day*. Therefore now (like the end of a *Play*) a great number came vpon the *Stage* at once. He sent the *Lord Chamberlaine*, and the *Lord* BROOK, and Sir RICE AP THOMAS, with expedite Forces to speed to *Excester*, to the Rescue of the Towne, and to spread the Fame of his owne following in Person with a *Royall Army*. The *Earle* of *Deuonshire*, and his Son, with the CAROES, and the FVLFORDES, and other principall Persons of *Deuonshire* (vncalled from the *Court*, but hearing that the Kings heart was so much bent vpon this Seruice) made haste with *Troupes*, that they had raysed, to bee the first that should succour the Citie of *Excester*, and preuent the Kings Succours. The *Duke* of *Buckingham* likewise, with many braue *Gentlemen*, put themselues in *Armes*, not staying eyther the Kings or the *Lord Chamberlaines* comming on, but making a Bodie of Forces of themselues, the more to indeare their merit; signifying to the King their readinesse, and desiring to know his pleasure. So that according to the Prouerbe, *In the comming downe, euerie Saint did helpe.*

PERKIN, hearing this Thunder of *Armes*, and Preparations against him from so many Parts, raised

his

his *Siege*, and marched to *Taunton*; beginning already to squint one eye vpon the *Crowne*, and another vpon the *Sanctuarie*: Though the *Corniſh-men* were become, like *Metall* often fired and quenched, churliſh, and that would ſooner breake than bow; ſwearing and vowing not to leaue him, till the vttermoſt drop of their blood were ſpilt. Hee was at his riſing from *Exceſter* betweene ſixe and ſeuen thouſand ſtrong, many hauing come vnto him, after he was ſet before *Exceſter*, vpon fame of ſo great an *Enterpriſe*, and to partake of the *Spoyle*; Though vpon the rayſing of his *Siege*, ſome did ſlippe away. When hee was come neare *Taunton*, hee diſſembled all feare, and ſeemed all the day to vſe diligence in preparing all things ready to fight. But about Midnight, hee fled with threeſcore Horſe to *Bewley* in the *New-Forreſt*, where hee and diuers of his Companie regiſtred themſelues *Sanctuarie-men*, leauing his *Corniſh-men* to the *Foure Windes*; But yet thereby eaſing them of their *Vow*, and vſing his wonted Compaſion, *Not to bee by when his Subiects bloud ſhould bee ſpilt*. The King, as ſoone as he heard of PERKINS *Flight*, ſent preſently fiue hundred Horſe to purſue and apprehend him, before hee ſhould get either to the *Sea*, or to that ſame little *Iſland*, called a *Sanctuary*. But they came too late for the latter of theſe. Therefore all they could doe, was to beſet the *Sanctuary*, and to maintaine a ſtrong *Watch* about it, till the Kings pleaſure were further knowne. As for the reſt of the *Rebels*, they (beeing deſtituted of their head) without ſtroke ſtricken, ſubmitted themſelues vnto the Kings Mercie. And the King, who commonly drew Bloud (as *Phyſitians* doe) rather to ſaue life than to ſpill it, and was neuer *Cruell* when he was *Secure*; now he ſaw the Danger was paſt, pardoned them all in the end, except ſome few deſperate perſons which hee reſerued

reſerued to bee executed, the better to ſet of his *Mercie* towards the reſt. There were alſo ſent with all ſpeede ſome horſe to Saint MICHAELS *Mount* in *Cornwall*, where the *Ladie* KATHERINE GORDON was left by her Husband, whom in all Fortunes ſhee entirely loued; adding the vertues of a *Wife*, to the vertues of her *Sexe*. The King ſent in the greater diligence, not knowing whether ſhe might be with *Childe*; whereby the buſineſſe would not haue ended in PERKINS perſon. When ſhee was brought to the King, it was commonly ſaid, that the King receiued her not onely with *Compaſsion*, but with *Affection*; *Pitie* giuing more *Impreſsion* to her excellent *Beautie*. Wherefore comforting her (to ſerue as well his *Eye*, as his *Fame*) he ſent her to his *Queene*, to remaine with her; giuing her very honourable *Allowance* for the ſupport of her Eſtate: which ſhee enioyed both during the Kings life, and many yeares after. The name of the *White-Roſe* (which had beene giuen to her Husbands *Falſe-Title*) was continued in common ſpeech to her true *Beautie*.

The King went forwards on his Iourney, and made a ioyfull entrance into *Exceſter*, where hee gaue the *Citizens* great commendations and thankes: and taking the *Sword* hee wore, from his ſide, he gaue it to the Maior, and commanded it ſhould bee euer after carried before him. There alſo hee cauſed to bee executed ſome of the *Ring-leaders* of the *Corniſh-men*, in ſacrifice to the *Citizens*, whom they had put in feare, and trouble. At *Exceſter* the King conſulted with his *Councell*, whether he ſhould offer life to PERKIN, if hee would quit the *Sanctuarie*, and voluntarily ſubmit himſelfe. The *Councell* were diuided in opinion. Some aduiſed the King to take him out of *Sanctuary* perforce, and to put him to death, as in a caſe of *Neceſsity*, which in it ſelfe diſpenſeth with *Conſecrated Places* and

things

things. Wherein they doubted not alſo, but the King ſhould find the *Pope* tractable to ratifie his *Deed*, either by *Declaration*, or (at leaſt) by *Indulgence*. Others were of opinion (ſince all was now ſafe, and no further hurt could bee done) that it was not worth the expoſing of the King to new *Scandall* and *Enuy*. A third ſort fell vpon the opinion that it was not poſsible for the King euer, either to ſatisfie the world well touching the *Impoſture*, or to learne out the bottome of the *Conſpiracie*, except by promiſe of *Life* and *Pardon*, and other faire meanes, hee ſhould get PERKIN into his hands. But they did all in their *Preambles* much bemone the Kings Caſe, with a kind of *Indignation* at his *Fortune*; That a *Prince* of his high *Wiſedome* and *Vertue*, ſhould haue beene ſo long, and ſo oft exerciſed and vexed with *Idols*. But the King ſaid; that it was the *Vexation* of GOD *Almightie* himſelfe, to be vexed with *Idols*, and therefore that that was not to trouble any of his Friends. And that for himſelfe, hee alwayes deſpiſed them; but was grieued that they had put his *People* to ſuch trouble and miſery. But (in Concluſion) hee leaned to the third opinion, and ſo ſent ſome to deale with PERKIN. Who ſeeing himſelfe Priſoner, and deſtitute of all hopes, hauing tried *Princes* and *People*, *Great* and *Small*, and found all either falſe, faint, or vnfortunate, did gladly accept of the Condition. The King did alſo (while hee was at *Exceſter*) appoint the *Lord* DARCIE, and others, *Commiſsioners*, for the Fining of all ſuch, as were of any value, and had any hand or partaking in the aide or comfort of PERKIN or the *Corniſh-men*, either in the *Field* or in the *Flight*.

Theſe *Commiſsioners* proceeded with ſuch ſtrictneſſe and ſeueritie, as did much obſcure the Kings mercie in ſparing of *Bloud*, with the bleeding of ſo much *Treaſure*. PERKIN was brought vnto the Kings Court,

but not to the Kings presence; though the King (to satisfie his *Curiositie*) saw him sometimes out of a window, or in passage. Hee was in shew at libertie, but guarded with all care and watch that was possible, and willed to follow the King to *London*. But from his first appearance vpon the *Stage*, in his new person of a *Sycophant* or *Iugler*, in stead of his former Person of a *Prince*, all men may thinke how he was exposed to the derision, not onely of the *Courtiers*, but also of the *Common-People*, who flocked about him as hee went along; that one might know a farre off, where the *Owle* was, by the *Flight* of *Birdes*. Some mocking, some wondring, some cursing, some prying and picking matter out of his Countenance and Gesture, to talke of. So that the false *Honour* and *Respects* which hee had so long enioyed, was plentifully repaied in *Scorne* and *Contempt*. As soone as hee was come to *London*, the King gaue also the *Citie* the solace of this *May-Game*. For hee was conueighed leasurely on Horse-backe (but not in any ignominious fashion) through *Cheape-side*, and *Cornwall*, to the *Tower*; and from thence backe againe vnto *Westminster*, with the *Churme* of a thousand taunts and reproches. But to amend the *Show*, there followed a little distance of PERKIN, an inward *Councellour* of his, One that had beene *Serieant Farrier* to the King. This Fellow when PERKIN tooke *Sanctuarie*, chose rather to take an *Holy-Habit*, than an *Holy-Place*, and clad him selfe like an *Hermite*, and in that weede wandered about the *Countrie*, till hee was discouered, and taken. But this Man was bound hand and foote vpon the Horse, and came not backe with PERKIN, but was left at the *Tower*, and within few dayes after Executed. Soone after, now that PERKIN could tell better what himselfe was, he was diligently examined, and after his *Confession* taken, an *Extract* was made of such parts of them,

as

as were thought fit to be divulged, which was Printed and dispersed abroad. Wherein the King did himselfe no Right. For as there was a laboured *Tale* of particulars, of PERKINS *Father*, and *Mother*, and *Grandsire*, and *Grand-mother*, and *Vnckles*, and *Cosens*, by *Names* and *Sirnames*, and from what places hee trauailed vp and downe; so there was little or nothing to purpose of any thing concerning his *Designes*, or any *Practises* that had beene held with him; nor the *Duchesse* of *Burgundie* her selfe (that all the World did take knowledge of, as the *Person* that had put *Life* and *Beeing* into the whole *Businesse*) so much as named or pointed at. So that men missing of that they looked for, looked about for they knew not what, and were in more doubt than before. But the King chose rather not to satisfie, than to kindle *Coales*. At that time also it did not appeare by any new *Examinations* or *Commitments*, that any other Person of qualitie was discouered or appeached, though the Kings closenesse made that a *Doubt-Dormant*.

About this time, a great *Fire* in the night time sodainely began at the kings *Pallace* of *Shyne*, neare vnto the kings owne Lodgings, whereby a great part of the Building was consumed, with much costly Houshold-stuffe; which gaue the king occasion of Building from the ground that fine *Pile* of *Richmond*, which is now standing.

Somewhat before this time also, there fell out a memorable Accident. There was one SEBASTIAN GABATO, a *Venetian*, dwelling in *Bristow*, a man seene and expert in *Cosmographie* and *Nauigation*. This Man seeing the successe, and emulating perhaps the enterprise of CHRISTOPHERVS COLVMBVS in that fortunate discouerie towards the *South-west*, which had beene by him made some sixe yeares before; conceited with himselfe, that *Lands*

might likewiſe bee diſcouered towards the *Northweſt*. And ſurely it may bee hee had more firme and pregnant Coniectures of it, than COLVMBVS had of this at the firſt. For the two great *Iſlands* of the *Old* and *New world*, beeing (in the ſhape and making of them) broad towards the *North*, and pointed towards the *South*; it is likely, that the diſcouerie firſt beganne where the *Lands* did neareſt meet. And there had beene before that time a diſcouerie of ſome *Lands*, which they tooke to bee *Iſlands*, and were indeed the *Continent of America*, towards the *Northweſt*. And it may bee, that ſome Relation of this nature comming afterwards to the knowledge of COLVMBVS, and by him ſuppreſſed, (deſirous rather to make his Enterpriſe the *Child* of his *Science* and *Fortune*, than the *Follower* of a former *Diſcouerie*) did giue him better aſſurance, that all was not *Sea*, from the *Weſt* of *Europe* and *Africke* vnto *Aſia*, than either SENECA's *Propheſie*, or PLATO's *Antiquities*, or the Nature of the *Tides*, and *Land-winds*, and the like, which were the *Coniectures* that were giuen out, whereupon hee ſhould haue relyed. Though I am not ignorant, that it was likewiſe laid vnto the caſuall and *wind-beaten Diſcouerie* (a little before) of a *Spaniſh Pilot*, who died in the houſe of COLVMBVS. But this GABATO bearing the King in hand, that hee would find out an *Iſland* endued with rich Commodities, procured him to man and victuall a Ship at *Briſtow*, for the diſcouerie of that *Iſland*, With whom ventured alſo three ſmall Shippes of *London-Merchants*, fraught with ſome groſſe and ſleight Wares, fit for Commerce with barbarous people. Hee ſayled (as hee affirmed at his Returne, and made a *Card* thereof) very farre *Weſtwards*, with a *Quarter* of the *North*, on the *North-ſide* of *Tierra de Labrador*, vntill hee came to the *Latitude* of ſixtie ſeuen Degrees and an halfe, finding

finding the *Seas* ſtill open. It is certaine alſo, that the *Kings* Fortune had a tender of that great *Empire* of the *Weſt-Indies.* Neither was it a *Refuſall* on the kings part, but a *Delay* by accident, that put by ſo great an *Acqueſt.* For CHRISTOPHERVS COLVMBVS refuſed by the king of *Portugall* (who would not embrace at once both *Eaſt* and *Weſt*) imployed his Brother BARTHOLOMEVS COLVMBVS vnto king HENRY, to negotiate for his Diſcouerie. And it ſo fortuned, that hee was taken by *Pirats* at *Sea,* by which accidentall impediment hee was long ere hee came to the king. So long, that before hee had obtained a Capitulation with the King for his Brother, the Enterpriſe by him was atchieued, and ſo the *Weſt-Indies* by *Prouidence* were then reſerued for the *Crowne* of *Caſtilia.* Yet this ſharpned the king ſo, that not onely in this Voyage, but againe in the ſixteenth yeare of his Raigne, and likewiſe in the Eighteenth thereof, hee granted forth new *Commiſſions,* for the *Diſcouerie* and inueſting of vnknowne *Lands.*

In this Fourteenth yeare alſo (by GODS wonderfull prouidence, that boweth things vnto his will, and hangeth great *Weights* vpon ſmall *Wyers*) there fell out a trifling and vntoward Accident, that drew on great and happie effects. During the Truce with *Scotland,* there were certaine *Scottiſh young Gentlemen,* that came into *Norham* Towne, and there made merrie with ſome of the *Engliſh* of the *Towne.* And hauing little to doe, went ſometimes forth, and would ſtand looking vpon the *Caſtle.* Some of the *Garriſon* of the *Caſtle,* obſeruing this their doing twice or thrice, and hauing not their minds purged of the late ill bloud of *Hoſtilitie,* either ſuſpected them, or quarrelled them for *Spies.* Whereupon they fell at ill *Words,* and from *Words* to *Blowes;* ſo that many were wounded of either ſide, and the *Scottiſh-men* (beeing ſtran-

ſtrangers in the *Towne*) had the worſt. In ſo much as ſome of them were ſlaine, and the reſt made haſte home. The matter beeing complained on, and often debated before the *Wardens* of the *Marches* of both ſides, and no good order taken, the *King* of *Scotland* tooke it to himſelfe, and beeing much kindled, ſent a *Herald* to the king to make proteſtation, That if Reparation were not done, according to the Conditions of the *Truce*, his king did denounce *Warre*. The king (who had often tryed *Fortune*, and was inclined to *Peace*) made anſwer; That what had been done, was vtterly againſt his will, and without his *Priuitie*. But if the *Garriſon-Souldiers* had been in fault, he would ſee them puniſhed, and the *Truce* in all points to bee preſerued. But this anſwer ſeemed to the *Scottiſh king* but a Delay, to make the Complaint breathe out with time; and therefore it did rather exaſperate him, than ſatisfie him. *Biſhop* Fox, vnderſtanding from the king, that the *Scottiſh* king was ſtill diſcontent and impatient, beeing troubled that the occaſion of breaking of the *Truce* ſhould grow from his men, ſent many humble and deprecatorie Letters to the *Scottiſh* King to appeaſe him. Whereupon King IAMES, mollified by the *Biſhops* ſubmiſſe and eloquent Letters, wrote back vnto him, That though he were in part moued by his *Letters*, yet he ſhould not bee fully ſatisfied, except hee ſpake with him; as well about the compounding of the preſent differences, as about other matters, that might concerne the good of both *Kingdomes*. The *Biſhop* aduiſing firſt with the king, tooke his Iourney for *Scotland*. The meeting was at *Melroſſe*, an *Abbey* of the *Ceſterſians*, where the king then abode. The king firſt roundly vttered vnto the *Biſhop* his offence conceiued for the inſolent Breach of *Truce*, by his men of *Norham Caſtle*. Whereunto *Biſhop* Fox made ſuch an humble and ſmooth anſwer, as it was like *Oyle* into

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the *wound*, whereby it began to heale. And this was done in the preſence of the King and his *Councell*. After, the King ſpake with the *Biſhop* apart, and opened himſelfe vnto him, ſaying; That theſe temporarie *Truces* and *Peaces* were ſoone made, and ſoone broken: But that hee deſired a ſtraiter Amitie with the King of *England*, diſcouering his mind; that if the King would giue him in *Mariage*, the *Ladie* MARGARET, his eldeſt *Daughter*, That indeede might bee a *Knot* indiſſoluble. That hee knew well what Place and Authoritie the *Biſhop* deſeruedly had with his *Maſter*. Therefore, if hee would take the buſineſſe to heart, and deale in it effectually, hee doubted not but it would ſucceed well. The *Biſhop* anſwered ſoberly, that hee thought himſelfe rather happie, than worthy, to bee an Inſtrument in ſuch a matter; but would doe his beſt endeauour. Wherefore the *Biſhop* returning to the King, and giuing account what had paſſed, and finding the King more than well diſpoſed in it, gaue the King aduice; firſt to proceed to a Concluſion of *Peace*, and then to goe on with the Treatie of *Marriage*, by degrees. Hereupon a *Peace* was concluded, which was publiſhed a little before *Chriſtmaſſe*, in the Fourteenth yeare of the Kings *Raigne*, to continue for both the Kings liues, and the ouer-liuer of them, and a yeare after. In this *Peace* there was an *Article* contained, that no *Engliſh-man* ſhould enter into *Scotland*, and no *Scottiſh-man* into *England*, without Letters Commendatorie from the Kings of eyther *Nation*. This at the firſt ſight might ſeeme a meanes to continue a ſtrangeneſſe betweene the *Nations*; but it was done, to locke in the *Borderers*.

This yeare there was alſo borne to the King a third *Sonne*, who was chriſtned by the name of EDMVND, and ſhortly after dyed. And much about the ſame time came newes of the death of *Charles* the *French-King*;

King; For whom there were celebrated Solemne and Princely *Obſequies*.

It was not long, but PERKIN (who was made of *Quick-ſiluer*, which is hard to hold or impriſon) began to ſtirre. For deceiuing his *Keepers*, hee tooke him to his heeles, and made ſpeede to the *Sea-coaſts*. But preſently all Corners were laid for him, and ſuch diligent purſuit and ſearch made, as hee was faine to turne backe, and get him to the Houſe of *Bethleem*, called the *Priorie* of *Shyne*, (which had the priuiledge of *Sanctuarie*) and put himſelfe into the hands of the *Prior* of that *Monaſterie*. The *Prior* was thought an *Holy Man*, and much reuerenced in thoſe dayes. Hee came to the King, and beſought the King for PERKINS life only, leauing him otherwiſe to the Kings diſcretion. Many about the King were againe more hot than euer, to haue the King to take him forth, and hang him. But the King (that had an high ſtomacke, and could not hate any that hee deſpiſed) bid, *Take him forth, and ſet the Knaue in the Sockes*. And ſo promiſing the *Prior* his life, hee cauſed him to bee brought forth. And within two or three daies after, vpon a *Scaffold*, ſet vp in the *Palace-Court* at *Weſtminſter*, he was fettered and ſet in the *Stockes*, for the whole day. And the next day after, the like was done by him at the *Croſſe* in *Cheape-ſide*, and in both places he read his *Confeſſion*, of which we made mention before; and was from *Cheap-ſide* conueighed and layed vp in the *Tower*. Notwithſtanding all this, the King was (as was partly touched before) growne to be ſuch a *Partner* with *Fortune*, as no body could tell what *Actions* the *One*, and what the *Other* owned. For it was beleeued generally, that PERKIN was betrayed, and that this Eſcape was not without the Kings priuitie, who had him all the time of his Flight in a Line; and that the King did this, to picke a Quarrell to him to put him to death, and to be ridde

of

of him at once. But this is not probable. For that the ſame *Inſtruments* who obſerued him in his *Flight*, might haue kept him from getting into the *Sanctuary*.

But it was ordained, that this *Winding-Iuie* of a PLANTAGENET, ſhould kill the true *Tree* it ſelfe. For PERKIN, after hee had beene a while in the *Tower*, began to inſinuate himſelfe into the fauour and kindneſſe of the *Keepers*, Seruants to the *Lieutenant* of the *Tower*, Sir IOHN DIGBIE, being foure in number; STRANGVVAIES, BLEVVET, ASTVVOOD, and LONG-ROGER. Theſe *Varlets*, with mountaines of *promiſes*, hee ſought to corrupt, to obtaine his *Eſcape*. But knowing well, that his owne *Fortunes* were made ſo contemptible, as hee could feede no mans *Hopes* (and by *Hopes* hee muſt worke, for *Rewards* he had none) he had contriued with himſelfe a vaſt and tragicall Plot; which was, to draw in to his Companie EDVVARD PLANTAGENET *Earle* of *Warwicke*, then Priſoner in the *Tower*; whom the wearie life of a long *Impriſonment*, and the often and renewing Feares of being put to *Death*, had ſoftned to take any impreſſion of *Councell* for his *Libertie*. This young *Prince* hee thought theſe Seruants would looke vpon, though uot vpon himſelfe. And therefore after that by ſome *Meſſage* by one or two of them, hee had taſted of the *Earles* Conſent; it was agreed, that theſe foure ſhould murder their *Maſter* the *Lieutenant*, ſecretly in the night, and make their beſt of ſuch Money and portable Goods of his, as they ſhould finde readie at hand, and get the *Keyes* of the *Tower*, and preſently let forth PERKIN and the *Earle*. But this *Conſpiracie* was reuealed in time, before it could bee executed. And in this agoine the Opinion of the Kings great *Wiſedome* did ſurcharge him with a ſiniſter *Fame*, that PERKIN was but his *Bait*, to entrap the *Earle* of *Warwicke*. And in the very Inſtant while

this *Conspiracy* was in working (as if that also had been the Kings industrie) it was fatall, that there should breake forth a *Counterfeit Earle* of *Warwicke*, a *Cordwainers* Sonne, whose name was RALPH WILFORD; a young man, taught and set on by an *Augustine Friar*, called PATRICKE. They both from the parts of *Suffolke*, came forwards into *Kent*, where they did not onely priuily and vnderhand giue out, that this WILFORD was the true *Earle* of *Warwicke*, but also the *Friar* finding some light Credence in the People, tooke the boldnesse in the *Pulpit* to declare as much, and to incite the People to come in to his Aide. Whereupon they were both presently apprehended, and the young *Fellow* executed, and the *Friar* condemned to perpetuall *Imprisonment*. This also hapning so opportunely, to represent the danger to the Kings Estate, from the Earle of *Warwicke*, and thereby to colour the Kings seueritie that followed; together with the madnesse of the *Friar*, so vainely and desperately to divulge a *Treason*, before it had gotten any manner of strength; and the sauing of the *Friars* life, which neuertheless was (indeed) but the priuiledge of his *Order*; and the *Pitie* in the Common People (which if it runne in a strong *Streame*, doth euer cast vp *Scandal* and *Enuie*) made it generally rather talked, than belieued, that all was but the Kings deuice. But howsoeuer it were, hereupon PERKIN (that had offended against *Grace* now the third time) was at the last proceeded with, and by *Commissioners* of *Oyer* and *Determiner*, arraigned at *Westminster*, vpon diuers *Treasons* comnitted and perpetrated after his comming on land within this Kingdome (for so the *Iudges* aduised, for that he was a *Forreiner*) and condemned, and a few dayes after executed at *Tiburne*. Where hee did againe openly read his *Confession*, and take it vpon his *Death* to bee true. This was the end of this little *Cockatrice*

of a King, that was able to deſtroy thoſe that did not eſpie him firſt. It was one of the longeſt *Playes* of that kind, that hath beene in memorie; and might perhaps haue had another end, if hee had not met with a King both wiſe, ſtout, and fortunate.

As for PERKINS three *Councellors*, they had regiſtred themſelues *Sanctuarie-men* when their *Maſter* did. And whether vpon pardon obtained, or continuance within the *Priuiledge*, they came not to bee proceeded with.

There was executed with PERKIN the *Maior* of *Corke*, and his Sonne, who had beene principall Abettors of his Treaſons. And ſoone after were likewiſe condemned eight other Perſons, about the *Tower-Conſpiracie*, whereof foure were the *Lieutenants* men. But of thoſe Eight but two were executed. And immediatly after was arraigned before the *Earle* of *Oxford* (then for the time *High-Steward* of *England*) the poore *Prince* the *Earle* of *Warwicke*; not for the *Attempt* to eſcape ſimply (for that was not acted; And beſides, the *Impriſonment* not beeing for Treaſon, the *Eſcape* by Law could not bee Treaſon) But for conſpiring with PERKIN to raiſe ſedition, and to deſtroy the King. And the *Earle* confeſſing the *Inditement* had *Iudgement*, and was ſhortly after beheaded on *Tower-hill*.

This was alſo the end not onely of this Noble and Commiſerable Perſon EDWARD the *Earle* of *Warwicke*, eldeſt Sonne to the *Duke* of *Clarence*, but likewiſe of the *Line-Male* of the PLANTAGENETS, which had flouriſhed in great Royaltie and Renowne, from the time of the famous King of *England* King HENRIE the Second. Howbeit it was a *Race* often dipped in their owne *Bloud*. It hath remained ſince onely tranſplanted into other *Names*, as well of the *Imperiall Line*, as of other *Noble Houſes*. But it was

neither guilt of *Crime*, nor reaſon of *State*, that could quench the *Enuie* that was vpon the King for this *Execution*. So that hee thought good to export it out of the Land, and to lay it vpon his new *Allie* FERDINANDO King of *Spaine*. For theſe two Kings vnderſtanding one another at halfe a word, ſo it was that there were Letters ſhewed out of *Spaine*, whereby in the paſſages concerning the *Treatie* of the *Marriage*, FERDINANDO had written to the King in plaine termes, that hee ſaw no aſſurance of his *Succeſsion*, as long as the *Earle* of *Warwicke* liued; and that hee was loth to ſend his *Daughter* to Troubles and Dangers. But hereby, as the king did in ſome part remoue the Enuie from himſelfe; ſo hee did not obſerue, that hee did withall bring a kind of *Malediction* and Infauſting vpon the *Marriage*, as an ill *Prognoſticke*. Which in euent ſo farre proued true, as both *Prince* ARTHVR enioyed a verie ſmall time after the *Marriage*, and the *Ladie* KATHERINE, herſelfe (a ſad and a religious woman) long after, when King HENRIE the Eight his reſolution of a *Diuorce* from her was firſt made knowne to her, vſed ſome words; *That ſhee had not offended: but it was a Iudgment of* GOD, *for that her former Marriage was made in bloud*; meaning that of the *Earle* of *Warwicke*

AD 1499

This fifteenth yeare of the king there was a great *Plague*, both in *London* and in diuers parts of the *Kingdome*. Wherefore the king after often change of *Places* (whether to auoide the danger of the *Sickeneſſe* or to giue occaſion of an *Enteruiew* with the *Arch-Duke*, or both) ſayled ouer with his *Queene* to *Calice*. Vpon his comming thither, the *Arch-Duke* ſent an honourable *Ambaſſage* vnto him, aſwell to welcome him into thoſe parts, as to let him know, that (if it pleaſed him) hee would come and doe him reuerence. But it was ſaid withall; That the King might bee pleaſed to

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appoint ſome place, that were out of any *Walled Towne* or Fortreſſe, for that hee had denied the ſame vpon like occaſion to the *French* king. And though hee ſaid, he made a great difference betweene the two kings, yet hee would bee loth to giue a *Preſident*, that might make it after to bee expected at his hands, by another whom hee truſted leſſe. The king accepted of the Courteſie, and admitted of his Excuſe, and appointed the place to be at *Saint* PETERS *Church* without *Calice*. But withall hee did viſit the *Arch-Duke* with *Ambaſſadors* ſent from himſelfe, which were the *Lord Saint* IOHN, and the *Secretarie*; vnto whom the *Arch-Duke* did the honour, as (going to *Maſſe* at *Saint Omers*) to ſet the *Lord Saint* IOHN on his right hand, and the *Secretarie* on his left, and ſo to ride betweene them to Church The day appointed for the *Enteruiew*, the king went on Horſe-backe ſome diſtance from *Saint* PETERS *Church*, to receiue the *Arch-Duke*. And vpon their approaching, the *Arch-Duke* made haſt to light, and offered to hold the kings *Stirrope* at his alighting; which the king would not permit, but deſcending from Horſe backe, they embraced with great affection, and withdrawing into the *Church* to a place prepared, they had long *Conference*, not onely vpon the Confirmation of former *Treaties*, and the freeing of *Commerce*, but vpon Croſſe *Marriages*, to bee had betweene the *Duke* of *Yorke* the *Kings* ſecond Sonne, and the *Arch-Dukes* Daughter; And againe betweene CHARLES the *Arch-Dukes* Sonne and Heire, and MARIE the *Kings* ſecond Daughter. But theſe *Bloſſoms* of vnripe *Marriages*, were but friendly wiſhes, & the *Aires* of louing *Entertainement*; though one of them came afterwards to Concluſion in *Treatie*, though not in *Effect*. But during the time that the two *Princes* conuerſed and communed together in the Suburbs of *Calice*, the Demonſtrations

tions on both sides were passing heartie and affectionate, especially on the part of the *Arch-Duke*. Who (besides that hee was a Prince of an excellent good nature) beeing conscious to himselfe, how driely the King had beene vsed by his *Councell* in the matter of PERKIN, did striue by all meanes to recouer it in the Kings Affection. And hauing also his eares continually beaten with the Councels of his *Father* and *Father-in-law*, who (in respect of their iealous hatred against the *French* King) did alwayes aduise the *Arch-Duke* to anchor himselfe vpon the Amitie of King HENRY of *England*; was glad vpon this occasion, to put in vre and practice their precepts, calling the King *Patron*, and *Father*, and *Protector*, (These very words the King repeates; when he certified of the louing behauiour of the *Arch-Duke* to the Citie) and what else hee could deuise, to expresse his loue and obseruance to the King. There came also to the King the Gouernour of *Picardie*, and the Bailiffe of *Amiens*, sent from *Lewis* the *French* King to doe him honour, and to giue him knowledge of his victorie and winning of the *Duchie* of *Millan*. It seemeth the king was well pleased with the honours hee receiued from those parts, while hee was at *Calice*. For hee did himselfe certifie all the Newes and Occurrents of them in euerie particular, from *Calice*, to the *Maior* and *Aldermen* of *London*, which (no doubt) made no small talke in the *Citie*. For the King, though hee could not entertaine the good will of the *Citizens*, as EDVVARD the fourth did; yet by affabilitie and other Princely Graces, did euer make very much of them, and apply himselfe to them.

This yeare also did IOHN MORTON, *Arch-Bishop* of *Canterburie*, *Chancellor* of *England*, and *Cardinall*. He was a Wise man, and an Eloquent, but in his nature harsh, and haughtie; much accepted by the King, but enuied by the *Nobilitie*, and hated of the

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People. Neither was his name left out of PERKINS *Proclamation* for any good will, but they would not bring him in amongst the Kings *Casting-Counters*, because hee had the *Image* and *Superscription* vpon him of the *Pope*, in his *Honour* of *Cardinall*. Hee wanne the King with *Secrecie* and *Diligence*, but chiefly because hee was his olde Seruant in his lesse *Fortunes*: And also for that (in his affections) hee was not without an inueterate malice against the House of YORKE, vnder whom hee had beene in trouble. He was willing also to take *Enuie* from the King, more than the King was willing to put vpon him. For the King cared not for *Subterfuges*, but would stand *Enuy*, and appeare in any thing that was to his mind; which made *Enuie* still grow vpon him more vniuersall, but lesse daring. But in the matter of Exactions, time did after shew, that the *Bishop* in feeding the Kings humour, did rather temper it. He had beene by RICHARD the third committed (as in Custody) to the *Duke* of *Buckingham*, whom hee did secretly incite to reuolt from King RICHARD. But after the *Duke* was engaged, and thought the *Bishop* should haue beene his chiefe *Pilot* in the *Tempest*, the *Bishop* was gotten into the *Cocke-boat*, and fled ouer beyond *Seas*. But whatsoeuer else was in the Man, hee deserueth a most happie Memorie, in that hee was the principall *Meane* of ioyning the two *Roses*. Hee died of great yeares, but of strong health and *Powers*.

The next yeare, which was the Sixteenth yeare of the King, and the yeare of our *Lord* one thousand fiue hundred, was the yeare of *Iubile* at *Rome*. But *Pope* ALEXANDER, to saue the Hazzard and Charges of mens Iourneys to *Rome*, thought good to make ouer those *Graces* by Exchange, to such as would pay a conuenient *Rate*, seeing they could not come to fetch them. For which purpose was sent into *England*

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IASPER PONS, a *Spaniard*, the *Popes Commissioner*, better chosen than were the *Commissioners* of *Pope* LEO, afterwards imployed for *Germanie*; for hee carried the Businesse with great wisdome, and semblance of *Holinesse*. In so much as hee leuied great summes of Money within this Land to the *Popes* vse, with little or no *Scandall*. It was thought the King shared in the Money. But it appeareth by a Letter which *Cardinall* ADRIAN, the Kings *Pensioner*, wrote to the King from *Rome* some fewy yeares after, that this was not so. For this *Cardinall*, beeing to perswade *Pope* IVLIVS on the Kings behalfe, to expedite the *Bull* of *Dispensation* for the *Marriage* betweene *Prince* HENRIE and the *Ladie* KATHERINE, finding the *Pope* difficile in granting thereof, doth vse it as a principall Argument concerning the Kings merit towards that *Sea*, that hee had touched none of those *Deniers*, which had beene leuied by PONS in *England*. But that it might the better appeare (for the satisfaction of the Common people) that this was *Consecrate Money*, the same *Nuntio* brought vnto the King a *Briefe* from the *Pope*, wherein the King was exhorted and summoned to come in Person against the *Turke*. For that the *Pope* (out of the care of an *Vniuersall Father*) seeing almost vnder his eyes the Successes and Progresses of that great Enemie of the *Faith*, had had in the *Couclaue*, and with the Assistance of the *Ambassadours* of forraine *Princes*, diuers *Consultations* about an *Holy Warre*, and a Generall Expedition of *Christian Princes* against the *Turke*. Wherein it was agreed, and thought fit, that the *Hungarians*, *Polonians*, and *Bohemians* should make *Warre* vpon *Thracia*; The *French* and *Spaniards* vpon *Grecia*; and that the *Pope* (willing to sacrifice himselfe in so good a Cause) in Person and in Companie of the King of *England*, the *Venetians*, and such other *States* as were great in maritime

ritime Power, would saile with a puissant *Nauie* through the *Mediterrane* vnto *Constantinople*. And that to this end, his *Holinesse* had sent *Nuncio's* to all *Christian Princes*; Aswell for a *Cessation* of all Quarrels and Differences amongst themselues, as for speedie *Preparations* and *Contributions* of *Forces* and *Treasure* for this *Sacred Enterprize*.

To this the King, (who vnderstood well the Court of *Rome*) made an *Answer* rather *Solemne*, than *Serious*. Signifying,

THat no Prince *on Earth should bee more forward and obedient, both by his* Person, *and by all his possible* Forces, *and* Fortunes, *to enter into this sacred* VVarre, *than himselfe. But that the distance of Place was such, as no* Forces *that hee should raise for the Seas, could be leuied or prepared, but with double the charge, and double the time (at the least) that they might be from the other* Princes, *that had their* Territories *nearer adioyning. Besides, that neither the manner of his Ships (hauing no Gallies) nor the Experience of his* Pilots *and* Mariners *could bee so apt for those Seas, as theirs. And therefore that his* Holinesse *might doe well, to moone one of those other Kings, who lay fitter for the purpose, to accompany him by Sea. Whereby both all things would be sooner put in readinesse, and with lesse Charge, and the* Emulation *and* Diuision *of* Command, *which*

might growe betweene those Kings of France *and* Spaine, *if they should both ioyne in the* Warre *by Land vpon* Grecia, *might bee wisely auoyded. And that for his part, hee would not bee wanting in* Aydes *and* Contribution. *Yet notwithstanding, if both these Kings should refuse, rather than his* Holinesse *should goe alone, hee would waite vpon him, as soone as hee could bee readie. Alwaies prouided, that hee might first see all* Differences *of the* Christian Princes *amongst themselues, fully laide downe and appeased (as for his owne part hee was in none.) And that hee might haue some good Townes vpon the Coast in* Italie *put into his hands, for the Retrait and safeguard of his Men.*

With this *Answer* IASPER PONS returned, nothing at all discontented. And yet this *Declaration* of the King (as superficiall as it was) gaue him that *Reputation* abroad, as hee was not long after elected by the *Knights* of the *Rhodes*, *Protector* of their *Order*; All things multiplying to *Honour* in a *Prince*, that had gotten such high Estimation for his *Wisedome* and *Sufficiencie*.

There were these two last yeares some proceedings against *Heretiques*, which was rare in this Kings Reigne, and rather by *Penances*, than by *Fire*. The King had (though hee were no good *Schooleman*) the Honour to conuert one of them by Dispute at *Canterburie*.

This

This yeare also, though the king were no more haunted with *Spirits*, for that by the *Sprinckling* partly of *Bloud*, and partly of *Water*, hee had chased them away; yet neuertheleſſe hee had certaine *Apparitions*, that troubled him, ſtill ſhewing themſelues from one *Region*, which was the houſe of *Yorke*. It came ſo to paſſe, that the *Earle* of *Suffolke*, Sonne to ELIZABETH, eldeſt Siſter to king EDVVARD the fourth, by IOHN *Duke* of *Suffolke*, her ſecond Husband, and Brother to IOHN *Earle* of *Lincolne*, that was ſlaine at *Stocke-field*, being of an haſtie and Cholericke Diſpoſition, had killed a man in his furie, whereupon the king gaue him his *Pardon*. But either willing to leaue a *Cloud* vpon him, or the better to make him feele his *Grace*, produced him openly to plead his *Pardon*. This wrought in the *Earle*, as in a haughtie ſtomacke it vſeth to doe; for the *Ignominie* printed deeper than the *Grace*. Wherefore hee beeing diſcontent, fled ſecretly into *Flanders*, vnto his *Aunt* the *Ducheſſe* of *Burgundie*. The king ſtartled at it. But being taught by Troubles, to vſe fare and timely *Remedies*, wrought ſo with him by Meſſages, (The *Ladie* MARGARET alſo growing by often failing in her *Alchymie*, wearie of her Experiments, and partly being a little ſweetned, for that the king had not touched her name in the Confeſſion of PERKIN) that hee came ouer againe vpon good termes, and was reconciled to the king.

In the beginning of the next yeare, beeing the ſeuenteenth of the king, the *Ladie* KATHERINE, fourth Daughter of FERDINANDO and ISABELLA, *King* and *Queene* of *Spaine*, arriued in *England*, at *Plimouth*, the ſecond of *October* and was married to *Prince* ARTHVR in PAVLES, the foureteenth of *Nouember* following. The *Prince* being then about fifteene yeares of age, and the *Ladie* about eighteene. The manner of her receiuing, the manner

of her Entrie into *London*, and the Celebritie of the *Marriage* were performed with great and true Magnificence, in regard of *Coſt*, *Shew*, and *Order*. The chiefe man that tooke the care was *Biſhop* Fox; who was not onely a graue *Councellor* for Warre or Peace, but alſo a good *Surueyour* of Workes, and a good *Maſter* of *Ceremonies*, and any thing elſe that was fit for the *Actiue* part, belonging to the ſeruice of *Court*, or *State* of a great King. This *Marriage* was almoſt ſeuen yeares in *Treatie*, which was in part cauſed by the tender yeares of the *Marriage-couple*, eſpecially of the *Prince*. But the true reaſon was, that theſe two *Princes*, being *Princes* of great Policie and profound Iudgement, ſtood a great time looking one vpon anothers *Fortunes*, how they would goe; knowing well that in the meane time, the verie *Treatie* it ſelfe gaue abroad in the World a Reputation of a ſtraite Coniunction, and Amitie betweene them; which ſerued on both ſides to many purpoſes, that their ſeuerall Affaires required, and yet they continued ſtill free. But in the end when the *Fortunes* of both the *Princes* did grow euerie day more and more proſperous and aſſured, and that looking all about them, they ſaw no better Conditions, they ſhut it vp.

The *Marriage* Monie the *Princeſſe* brought (which was turned ouer to the King by Act of *Renunciation*) was two hundred thouſand *Ducats* Whereof one hundred thouſand were payable ten dayes after the *Solemnization*, and the other hundred thouſand at two payments Annuall; but part of it to bee in *Iewels* and *Plate*, and a due courſe ſet downe to haue them iuſtly and indifferently prized. The *Ioynture* or *Aduancement* of the *Lady*, was the third part of the *Principality* of *Wales*, and of the *Dukedome* of *Cornewall*, and of the *Earledome* of *Cheſter*, to be after ſet forth in ſeueraltie. And in caſe ſhee came to bee *Queeene* of *England*, her *Ad-*

uance-

uancement was left indefinite, but thus; That it should bee as great, as euer any former *Queene* of *England* had.

In all the *Deuises* and *Conceits* of the *Triumphs* of this *Marriage*, there was a great deale of *Astronomie*. The *Ladie* beeing resembled to HESPERVS, and the *Prince* to ARCTVRVS, and the old King ALPHONSVS (that was the greatest *Astronomer* of Kings, and was *Ancestor* to the *Ladie*) was brought in to bee the *Fortune-teller* of the *Match*. And whosoeuer had those *Toyes* in Compiling, they were not altogether *Pedanticall*. But you may bee sure that King ARTHVR, the *Britton*, and the descent of the *Ladie* KATHERINE from the House of LANCASTER, was in no wise forgotten. But (as it should seem) it is not good to fetch *Fortunes* from the *Starres*. For this young *Prince* (that drew vpon him at that time, not onely the Hopes and Affections of his *Countrie*, but the Eyes and Expectation of *Forreiners*) after a few Moneths, in the beginning of *Aprill*, deceased at *Ludlow Castle*, where he was sent to keepe his *Residance* and *Court*, as *Prince* of *Wales*. Of this *Prince*, in respect hee died so young, and by reason of his Fathers manner of Education, that did cast no great *Lustre* vpon his *Children*, there is little particular Memorie. Onely thus much remaineth, that hee was very studious and learned, beyond his yeares, and beyond the Custome of great *Princes*.

There was a Doubt tipped vp in the times following, when the *Diuorce* of King HENRIE the Eighth from the *Ladie* KATHERINE did so much buste the world, whether ARTHVR was bedded with his *Ladie* or no, whereby that matter in fact (of *Carnall Knowledge*) might bee made part of the *Case*. And it is true, that the *Ladie* her selfe denied it, or at least her *Counsell* stood vpon it, and would not blaunch that Ad-

Aduantage, although the *Plenitude* of the *Popes power* of Dispensing was the maine Question. And this Doubt was kept long open, in respect of the two *Queenes* that succeeded MARIE and ELIZABETH, whose *Legitimations* were incompatible one with another, though their *Succession* was settled by *Act* of *Parliament*. And the times that fauoured *Queene* MARIES *Legitimation* would haue it beleeued, that there was no *Carnall Knowledge* betweene ARTHVR and KATHERINE. Not that they would seeme to derogate from the *Popes* absolute power, to dispence euen in that *Case*; but onely in point of honour, and to make the *Case* more fauourable and smooth. And the Times that fauoured *Queene* ELIZABETHS *Legitimation* (which were the longer, and the latter) maintained the contrarie. So much there remayneth in Memorie, that it was halfe a yeares time betweene the *Creation* of HENRY *Prince* of *Wales*, and *Prince* ARTHVRS death; which was construed to bee, for to expect a full time, whereby it might appeare, whether the *Ladie* KATHERINE were with *Child* by *Prince* ARTHVR, or no. Againe, the *Ladie* her selfe procured a *Bull*, for the better Corroboration of the *Marriage*, with a Clause of (*vel forsan cognitam*) which was not in the first *Bull*. There was giuen in Euidence also, when the cause of the *Diuorce* was handled, a pleasant passage, which was; That in a Morning *Prince* ARTHVR, vpon his vp-rising from Bed with her, called for drinke, which hee was not accustomed to doe, and finding the *Gentleman* of his Chamber that brought him the drinke to smile at it, and to note it, hee said merrily to him, That hee had been in the middest of *Spaine*, which was an hot *Region*, and his Iourney had made him drie, and that if the other had beene in so hot a *Clime*, hee would haue been drier than hee. Besides, the *Prince* was

vpon

vpon the point of Sixteene yeares of Age when hee died, and forward, and able in Bodie.

The *Februarie* following, HENRY *Duke* of *Yorke* was created *Prince* of *Wales*, and *Earle* of *Chester* and *Flint*. For the *Dukedome* of *Cornewall* deuolued to him by *Statute*. The King also beeing fast handed, and loath to part with a second *Dowrie*, but chiefly being affectionate both by his Nature, and out of Politicke Considerations to continue the Alliance with *Spaine*, preuailed with the *Prince* (though not without some Reluctation, such as could bee in those yeares, for hee was not twelue yeares of *Age*) to bee contracted with the *Princesse* KATHERINE. The secret *Prouidence* of GOD ordaining that *Marriage*, to bee the Occasion of great Euents and Changes.

The same yeare were the *Espousals* of IAMES King of *Scotland*, with the *Ladie* MARGARET, the Kings eldest Daughter; which was done by *Proxie*, and published at PAVLES *Crosse*, the fiue and twentieth of *Ianuarie*, and *Te Deum* solemnly sung. But certaine it is, that the *Ioy* of the *Citie* thereupon shewed, by Ringing of *Bells*, and *Bon-fires*, and such other *Incence* of the People, was more than could be expected, in a Case of so great and fresh Enmitie betweene the *Nations*; especially in *London*, which was farre enough off from feeling any of the former calamities of the *Warre*. And therefore might bee truely attributed to a *Secret Instinct* and *Inspiring* (which many times runneth not onely in the *Hearts* of *Princes*, but in the *Pulse* and *Veines* of People) touching the happinesse thereby to ensue in time to come. This *Marriage* was in *August* following consummate at *Edenborough*. The King bringing his Daughter as farre as *Colli-Weston* on the way, and then consigning her to the Attendance of the *Earle* of *Northumberland*; who with a great

a great Troupe of *Lords* and *Ladies* of *Honour*, brought her into *Scotland*, to the *King* her Husband.

This *Marriage* had beene in *Treatie* by the space of almost three yeares, from the time that the King of *Scotland* did first open his mind to *Bishop* Fox. The Summe giuen in *Marriage* by the King, was ten Thousand pounds. And the *Ioincture* and *Aduancement* assured by the King of *Scotland*, was two Thousand pounds a yeare, after King IAMES his Death, and one Thousand pounds a yeare in present, for the *Ladies* Allowance or Maintenance. This to be set forth in *Lands*, of the best and most certaine Reuenue. During the *Treatie*, it is reported, that the King remitted the matter to his *Counsell*; And that some of the *Table* in the Freedome of *Counsellors* (the King beeing present) did put the *Case*; that if GOD should take the Kings two *Sonnes* without *Issue*, that then the Kingdome of *England* would fall to the King of *Scotland*, which might preiudice the *Monarchie* of *England*. Whereunto the King himselfe replied; That if that should bee, *Scotland* would bee but an *Accession* to *England*, and not *England* to *Scotland*, for that the *Greater* would draw the lesse. And that it was a safer *Vnion* for *England*, than that of *France*. This passed as an *Oracle*, and silenced those that moued the *Question*.

The same yeare was fatall, as well for *Deaths*, as *Marriages*, and that with equall temper. For the *Ioyes* and *Feasts* of the two *Marriages*, were compensed with the *Mournings*, and *Funerals* of *Prince* ARTHVR (of whom wee haue spoken) and of *Queene* ELIZABETH, who died in Child-bed in the *Tower*, and the *Child* liued not long after. There dyed also that yeare Sir REGINOLD BRAY, who was noted to haue had with the King the greatest *Freedome* of any *Counsellor*; but it was but a *Freedome*, the better to set off

Flatterie

Flatterie. Yet hee bare more than his iuſt part of *Enuie*, for the *Exactions*.

At this time the Kings Eſtate was verie proſperous, Secured by the Amitie of *Scotland*, ſtrengthened by that of *Spaine*, cheriſhed by that of *Burgundie*, all Domeſticke Troubles quenched, and all Noyſe of *Warre* (like a *Thunder* afarre off) going vpon *Italie*. Wherefore *Nature*, which many times is happily contayned, and refrained by ſome Bands of *Fortune*, beganne to take place in the King; carrying (as with a ſtrong *Tide*) his affections and Thoughts vnto the gathering and heaping vp of *Treaſure*. And as Kings doe more eaſily find Inſtruments for their *Will* and *Humour*, than for their *Seruice* and *Honour*; Hee had gotten for his purpoſe, or beyond his purpoſe, two Inſtruments, EMPSON and DVDLEY, (whom the people eſteemed as his *Horſe-Leeches* and *Shearers*) bold men, and careleſſe of *Fame*, and that tooke *Toll* of their Maſters *Griſt*. DVDLEY was of a good Family, Eloquent, and one that could put *Hatefull Buſineſſe* into good *Language*. But EMPSON, that was the Sonne of a *Siene-maker*, triumphed alwayes vpon the *Deede done*, putting off all other reſpects whatſoeuer. Theſe two Perſons beeing *Lawyers* in *Science*, and *Priuie Councellors* in *Authoritie* (as *the Corruption of the beſt things is the worſt*) turned *Law* and *Iuſtice* into *Worme-wood* and *Rapine*. For firſt, their manner was to cauſe diuers *Subiects* to bee indicted of ſundrie Crimes, and ſo farre forth to proceed in forme of *Law*; But when the *Bils* were found, then preſently to commit them. And neuertheleſſe not to produce them to any reaſonable time to their *Anſwer*, but to ſuffer them to languiſh long in *Priſon*, and by ſundrie artificiall *Deuiſes* and *Terrours*, to extort from them great *Fines* and *Ranſomes*, which they termed *Compoſitions* and *Mitigations*.

Neither did they (towards the end) obſerue ſo much as the *Halfe-face* of *Iuſtice*, in proceeding by *Indictment*; but ſent forth their *Precepts* to attache men, and conuent them before themſelues and ſome others, at their priuate Houſes, in a *Court* of *Commiſsion*, and there vſed to ſhuffle vp a *Summarie Proceeding* by *Examination*, without Tryall of *Iurie*; aſſuming to themſelues there, to deale both in *Pleas* of the *Crowne*, and *Controuerſies Ciuill*.

Then did they alſo vſe to enthrall and charge the *Subiects* Lands with *Tenures in Capite*, by finding *Falſe Offices*, and thereby to worke vpon them for *Wardſhips*, *Liueries*, *Primier Seiſines*, and *Alienations*, (being the fruites of thoſe *Tenures*) refuſing vpon diuers Pretexts and Delayes, to admit men to trauerſe thoſe *Falſe Offices*, according to the *Law*. Nay, the *Kings Wards* after they had accompliſhed their full Age, could not bee ſuffered to haue *Liuerie* of their *Lands*, without paying exceſſiue *Fines*, farre exceeding all reaſonable Rates. They did alſo vexe men with *Informations* of *Intruſion* vpon ſcarce colourable *Titles*.

When men were *Out-lawed* in *Perſonall Actions*, they would not permit them to purchaſe their *Charters* of *Pardon*, except they paid great and intolerable ſummes; ſtanding vpon the ſtrict Point of *Law*, which vpon *Out-lawries* giueth *Forfeiture* of *Goods*. Nay, contrarie to all *Law* and Colour, they maintained, the King ought to haue the halfe of mens *Lands* and *Rents*, during the ſpace of full two yeares, for a *Paine* in *Caſe* of *Out-lawrie*. They would alſo ruffle with *Iurors*, and inforce them to finde as they would direct, and (if they did not) Conuent them, Impriſon them, and Fine them.

These and many other Courſes, fitter to be buried than repeated, they had of *Preying* vpon the *People*, both like *Tame Hawkes* for their Maſter, and like *Wild*

Hawkes

Hawkes for themſelues; in ſo much as they grew to great Riches and Subſtance. But their principall working was vpon *Penall Lawes*; wherein they ſpared none, great nor ſmall; nor conſidered whether the *Law* were poſſible, or impoſſible, in *Vſe* or *Obſolete*. But raked ouer all old and new *Statutes*, though many of them were made with intention rather of *Terrour*, than of *Rigour*; hauing euer a Rabble of *Promoters*, *Queſtmongers*, and leading *Iurors* at their Command, ſo as they could haue any thing found either for *Fact*, or *Valuation*.

There remayneth to this Day a *Report*, that the King was on a time entertained by the *Earle* of *Oxford* (that was his principall *Seruant*, both for *Warre* and *Peace*) nobly and ſumptuouſly, at his *Caſtle* at *Henningham*. And at the Kings going away, the *Earles* Seruants ſtood (in a ſeemely manner) in their *Liuerie Coats*, with *Cogniſances*, ranged on both ſides, and made the King a *Lane*. The King called the *Earle* to him, and ſaid; *My Lord, I haue heard much of your Hoſpitalitie, but I ſee it is greater than the ſpeech. Theſe handſome Gentlemen and Yeomen, which I ſee on both ſides of me, are ſure your Meniall Seruants.* The *Earle* ſmiled, and ſaid; *It may pleaſe your Grace, that were not for mine eaſe. They are moſt of them my Retainers; that are come to doe me ſeruice at ſuch a time as this, and chiefly to ſee your Grace.* The King ſtarted a little, and ſaid; *By my faith (my Lord) I thanke you for my good Cheare, but I may not endure to haue my Lawes broken in my ſight. My Atturney muſt ſpeake with you.* And it is part of the *Report*, that the *Earle* compounded for no leſſe than fifteene thouſand Markes. And to ſhew further the kings extreme Diligence; I doe remember to haue ſeene long ſince a Booke of Accompt of EMPSONS, that had the kings hand almoſt to euery Leafe, by way of *Signing*, and was in ſome places *Poſtilled* in the

Margent with the Kings hand likewiſe, where was this *Remembrance*.

Item, *receiued of ſuch a one, fiue Markes, for the Pardon to be procured; and if the Pardon doe not paſſe, the Monie to bee repaied; Except the Partie bee ſome other-wayes ſatisfied.*

And ouer againſt this *Memorandum* (of the Kings owne hand)

Otherwiſe ſatisfied.

Which I doe the rather mention, becauſe it ſhewes in the king a *Neareneſſe*, but yet with a kind of *Iuſtneſſe*. So theſe little *Sands* and *Graines* of *Gold* and *Siluer* (as it ſeemeth) helped not a little to make vp the great *Heape* and *Banke*.

But meane while (to keepe the king awake) the *Earle* of *Suffolke* hauing beene too gay at *Prince* ARTHVRS *Marriage*, and ſunke himſelfe deepe in Debt, had yet once more a mind to bee a *Knight-Errant*, and to ſeeke *Aduentures* in Forraine parts. And taking his Brother with him, fled againe into *Flanders*. That (no doubt) which gaue him Confidence, was the great *Murmur* of the *People* againſt the *Kings Gouernement*. And beeing a *Man* of a light and raſh *Spirit*, he thought euerie *Vapour* would bee a *Tempeſt*. Neither wanted hee ſome Partie within the *Kingdome*. For the *Murmur* of *People* awakes the *Diſcontents* of *Nobles*, and againe, that calleth vp commonly ſome *Head* of *Sedition*. The King reſorting to his wonted and tried Arts, cauſed Sir ROBERT CVRSON, *Captaine* of the *Caſtle* at *Hammes* (beeing at that time beyond Sea, and therefore leſſe likely to bee wrought vpon by the king) to flie from his *Charge*, and to faine himſelfe a ſeruant of the

the *Earles*. This *Knight*, hauing insinuated himselfe into the Secrets of the *Earle*, and finding by him vpon whom chiefly hee had either *Hope* or *Hold*, aduertised the King thereof in great secrecie. But neuertheleſſe maintained his owne Credit and inward truſt with the *Earle*. Vpon whoſe Aduertiſements, the King attached WILLIAM COVRTNEY, *Earle* of *Deuonſhire*, his *Brother-in-Law*, married to the *Ladie* KATHERINE, daughter to King EDVVARD the Fourth; WILLIAM DE-LA-POLE, brother to the *Enrle* of *Saffolke*; Sir IAMES TIRREL, and Sir IOHN WINDHAM, and ſome other meaner Perſons, and committed them to Cuſtodie. GEORGE, Lord ABERGAVENNIE, and Sir THOMAS GREENE, were at the ſame time apprehended; but as vpon leſſe Suſpition, ſo in a freer Reſtraint, and were ſoone after deliuered. The *Earle* of *Deuonſhire*, being intereſſed in the bloud of *Yorke*, that was rather *Feared* than *Nocent*; yet as *One*, that might bee the *Obiect* of others *Plots* and *Deſignes*, remained Priſoner in the *Tower*, during the Kings life. WILLIAAM DE-LA-POLE, was alſo long reſtrained, though not ſo ſtraitly. But for Sir IAMES TIRREL (againſt whom the *Bloud* of the *Innocent Princes*, EDVVARD the Fifth, and his Brother, did ſtill crie from vnder the *Altar*) and Sir IOHN WINDHAM, and the other meaner ones, they were attainted and executed; The two *Knights* beheaded. Neuertheleſſe, to confirme the Credit of CVRSON (who belike had not yet done all his *Feates* of *Actiuitie*) there was publiſhed at PAVLES *Croſſe*, about the time of the ſaid Executions, the *Popes Bull* of *Excommunication* and *Curſe*, againſt the *Earle* of *Suffolke*, and Sir ROBERT GVRSON, & ſome others by name, and likewiſe in generall againſt all the *Abettors* of the ſaid *Earle*. Wherein it muſt be confeſſed, that *Heauen* was made too much to bow to *Earth*, and *Religion*

ligion to *Policie*. But ſoone after, CVRSON (when hee ſaw time) returned into *England*, and withall into wonted *Fauour* with the King, but worſe *Fame* with the *People*. Vpon whoſe returne the *Earle* was much diſmayed, and ſeeing himſelfe deſtitute of hopes (the *Ladie* MARGARET alſo by tract of *Time*, and bad *Succeſſe*, being now become coole in thoſe Attempts) after ſome wandering in *France*, and *Germanie*, and certaine little *Proiects*, no better than *Squibbs* of an *Exiled man*, being tired out, retired againe into the Protection of the *Arch-Duke* PHILIP in *Flanders*, who by the death of ISABELLA was at that time King of *Caſtile*, in the right of IOAN his Wife.

This yeare (beeing the Nineteenth of his Raigne) the King called his *Parliament*. Wherein a man may eaſily gueſſe, how abſolute the King tooke himſelfe to bee with his *Parliament*, when DVDLEY that was ſo hatefull, was made *Speaker* of the *Houſe* of *Commons*. In this *Parliament*, there were not made any *Statutes* memorable, touching publike *Gouernement*. But thoſe that were, had ſtill the *Stampe* of the Kings *Wiſedome* and *Policie*.

There was a *Statute* made for the diſanulling of all *Patents* of *Leaſe*, or *Grant*, to ſuch as came not vpon lawfull *Summons*, to ſerue the King in his *Warres*, againſt the *Euemies* or *Rebels*, or that ſhould depart without the kings licenſe; With an Exception of certaine Perſons of the *Long-robe*. Prouiding neuertheleſſe, That they ſhould haue the kings Wages, from their *Houſe*, till their *Returne* home againe. There had beene the like made before for *Offices*, and by this *Statute* it was extended to *Lands*. But a man may eaſily ſee by many *Statutes* made in this kings time, that the king thought it ſafeſt, to aſſiſt *Martiall Law*, by *Law* of *Parliament*.

Another *Statute* was made, prohibiting the bring-

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ing in of *Manufactures* of *Silke* wrought by it selfe, or mixt with any other *Threed*. But it was not of *Stuffes* of whole piece (for that the Realme had of them no *Manufacture* in vse at that time) but of *Knit-Silke*, or *Texture* of *Silke*; as *Ribbands*, *Laces*, *Caules*, *Points*, and *Girdles*, &c. which the People of *England* could then well skill to make. This *Law* pointed at a true *Principle*; *That where forraine materials are but Superfluities, forraine Manufactures should bee prohibited.* For that will either banish the *Superfluitie*, or gaine the *Manufacture*.

There was a *Law* also of *Resumption* of *Patents* of *Gaoles*, and the *Reannexing* of them to the *Sherifwicks*; *Priuiledged Officers* beeing no lesse an Interruption of *Iustice*, than *priuiledged Places*.

There was likewise a *Law* to restraine the *By-lawes* or Ordinances of *Corporations*, which many times were against the *Prerogatiue* of the King, the *Common-law* of the *Realme*, and the *Libertie* of the *Subiect*, beeing *Fraternities* in Euill. It was therefore *Prouided*, that they should not bee put in Execution, without the Allowance of the *Chancellor*, *Treasurer*, and the two *Chiefe-Iustices*, or three of them, or of the two *Iustices* of *Circuit* where the *Corporation* was.

Another *Law* was (in effect) to bring in the *Siluer* of the *Realme* to the *Mint*, in making all clipped, minished, or impayred *Coines* of *Siluer*, not to bee currant in payments; without giuing any Remedie of weight, but with an exception onely of a reasonable wearing, which was as nothing in respect of the incertaintie; and so (vpon the matter) to set the *Mint* on worke, and to giue way to *New Coines* of *Siluer*, which should bee then minted.

There likwise was a long *Statute* against *Vagebonds*, wherein two things may bee noted; The one the *Dislike* the *Parliament* had of *Gaoling* of them, as that

that which was chargeable, pesterous, and of no open Example. The other, That in the *Statutes* of this Kings time, (for this of the Nineteenth yeare is not the onely *Statute* of that kind) there are euer coupled, the *punishment* of *Vagabonds*, and the *Forbidding* of *Dice*, and *Cards*, and vnlawfull *Games* vnto Seruants and meane people, and the putting downe and suppressing of *Ale-houses*, as *Strings* of one *Roote* together, and as if the One were vnprofitable, without the Other.

As for *Riot* and *Retainers*, there passed scarce any *Parliament* in this time without a *Law* against them, The King euer hauing an Eye to *Might*, and *Multitude*.

There was granted also that *Parliament* a *Subsidie*, both for the *Temporaltie* and the *Clergie*. And yet neuertheleſſe, ere the yeare expired, there went out *Commissions* for a generall *Benevolence*, though there were no *Warres*; no *Feares*. The same yeare the *Citty* gaue fiue thousand Markes, for *Confirmation* of their *Liberties*; A thing fitter for the *Beginnings* of Kings Raignes, than the latter Ends. Neither was it a small matter, that the *Mint* gained vpon the late *Statute*, by the *Recoinage* of *Groats* and *Halfe-groats*, now *Twelue-pences* and *Six-pences*. As for EMPSON and DUDLEY'S *Mills*, they did grinde more than euer. So that it was a strange thing, to see what *Golden Showres* powred downe vpon the Kings *Treasurie* at once. The last paiments of the *Marriage-money* from *Spaine*, The *Subsidie*, The *Benevolence*, The *Recoinage*, The *Redemption* of the *Citties Liberties*, The *Casualties*. And this is the more to bee marueiled at, because the King had then no Occasions at all of *Warres* or *Troubles*. He had now but one *Sonne*, and one *Daughter* vnbestowed. He was *Wise*, He was of an *High Mind*, He needed not to make *Riches* his *Glorie*, He did

did excell in so many things else; saue that certainely *Auarice* doth euer finde in it selfe matter of *Ambition*. Belike hee thought to leaue his *Sonne* such a *Kingdome*, and such a *Masse* of *Treasure*, as hee might choose his *Greatnesse* where hee would.

This yeare was also kept the *Serieants Feast*, which was the second *Call* in this Kings *Dayes*.

About this time ISABELLA, *Queene* of *Castile*, deceased; a right Noble *Ladie*, and an Honour to her *Sexe*, and Times, and the *Corner-stone* of the *Greatnesse* of *Spaine*, that hath followed. This Accident the King tooke not for *Newes* at large, but thought it had a great *Relation* to his owne *Affaires*; especially in two points. The One, for *Example*; the Other for *Consequence*. First, hee conceiued that the *Case* of FERDINANDO of *Arragon*, after the death of *Queene* ISABELLA, was his owne *Case*, after the death of his owne *Queene*: and the *Case* of IOAN the *Heire* vnto *Castile*, was the *Case* of his owne Sonne *Prince* HENRY. For if both of the Kings had their *Kingdomes*, in the right of their *Wiues*, they descended to the *Heires*, and did not accrew to the *Husbands*. And although his owne *Case* had both *Steele* and *Parchment*, more than the other (that is to say, a *Conquest* in the *Field*, and an *Act* of *Parliament*) yet notwithstanding, that Naturall *Title* of Descent in *Bloud*, did (in the imagination euen of a Wise-man) breed a *Doubt*, that the other two were not safe nor sufficient. Wherefore he was wonderfull diligent, to inquire and obserue what became of the King of *Arragon*, in holding and continuing the *Kingdome* of *Castile*. And whether he did hold it in his owne *Right*, or as *Administrator* to his *Daughter*; And whether he were like to hold it in *Fact*, or to bee put out by his *Sonne-in-Law*. Secondly, hee did reuolue in his minde, that the State of *Christendome* might by this late Accident haue a turne. For whereas before time Himselfe, with

the Coniunction of *Arragon* and *Castile* (which then was one) and the Amitie of MAXIMILIAN and PHILIP his Sonne the *Arch-Duke*, was farre too strong a *Partie* for *France*; hee beganne to feare, that now the *French* King (who had great *Interest* in the Affections of PHILIP the young King of *Castile*) and PHILIP himselfe, now king of *Castile*, (who was in ill Termes with his *Father-in-law* about the present Gouernment of *Castile*) And thirdly MAXIMILIAN, PHILIPS *Father* (who was euer variable, and vpon whom the surest Aime that could bee taken, was that hee would not be long, as hee had beene last before) would, all three being potent *Princes*, enter into some strait *League* and *Confederation* amongst themselues. Whereby though hee should not be endangered, yet hee should be left to the poore Amitie of *Arragon*. And, whereas he had beene heretofore a kind of *Arbiter* of *Europe*, he should now goe lesse, and bee ouer-topped by so great a *Coniunction*. Hee had also (as it seemes) an inclination to marrie, and bethought himselfe of some fit Conditions abroad. And amongst others, hee had heard of the *Beautie* and vertuous *Behauiour* of the young *Queene* of *Naples*, the Widdow of FERDINANDO the younger, being then of *Matronall* yeares of seuen and twentie. By whose *Marriage* he thought that the Kingdome of *Naples* (hauing beene a *Gole*, for a time betweene the king of *Arragon*, and the *French King*, and being but newly setled) might in some part be *Deposited* in his hands, who was so able to keepe the *Stakes*. Therefore hee sent in *Ambassage* or *Message* three Confident Persons; FRANCIS MARSIN, IAMES BRAY-BROOKE, and IOHN STILE, vpon two seuerall *Inquisitions* rather than *Negotiations*. The One, touching the Person and Condition of the young Queene of *Naples*. The Other touching all particulars of *Estate*, that concerned

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the *Fortunes* and *Intentions* of FERDINANDO. And because they may obserue best, who themselues are obserued least, hee sent them vnder *Colourable Pretexts*; giuing them Letters of Kindnesse and Complement from KATHERINE the *Princesse*, to her Aunt, and Neece, the Olde and Young Queene of *Naples*, and deliuering to them also a *Booke* of new *Articles* of *Peace*; which notwithstanding it had beene deliuered vnto *Doctor de* PVEBLA, the *Leigier Ambassadour* of *Spaine* here in *England*, to be sent; yet for that the King had beene long without hearing from *Spaine*, hee thought good those *Messengers*, when they had beene with the two Queenes, should likewise passe on to the *Court* of FERDINANDO, and take a Copie of the *Booke* with them. The *Instructions* touching the Queene of *Naples* were so curious and exquisite, beeing as *Articles* whereby to direct a *Survey*, or framing a *Particular* of her *Person*, for Complexion, Fauour, Feature, Stature, Health, Age, Customes, Behauiour, Conditions, and Estate, as if the King had beene young, a Man would haue iudged him to bee *Amorous*; but being ancient, it ought to be interpreted, that sure he was verie *Chaste*, for that hee meant to finde all things in one Woman, and so to settle his *Affections*, without ranging. But in this *Match* hee was soone cooled, when hee heard from his *Ambassadors*, that this young Queene had had a goodly *Ioynture* in the Realme of *Naples*, well answered during the time of her Vnckle FREDERICKE, yea, and during the time of LEVVIS the *French King*, in whose *Diuision* her Reuenue fell; But since the time that the Kingdome was in FERDINANDO's hands, all was assigned to the *Armie*, and *Garrisons* there, and shee receiued only a *Pension* or *Exhibition* out of his Coffers.

The other part of the *Inquirie* had a graue and di-

ligent Returne, informing the King at full of the present State of King FERDINANDO. By this report it appeared to the King, that FERDINANDO did continue the Gouernment of *Castile* as *Administrator* vnto his Daughter IOAN, by the Title of Queene ISABELLA'S *Will*, and partly by the Custome of the *Kingdome*, as he pretended. And that all *Mandates* and *Grants* were expedited in the name of IOAN his Daughter, and himselfe as *Administrator*, without mention of PHILIP, her Husband. And that king FERDINANDO, howsoeuer hee did dismisse himselfe of the Name of King of *Castile*, yet meant to hold the *Kingdome*, without Accompt, and in absolute Command.

It appeareth also, that hee flattered himselfe with hopes, that king PHILIP would permit vnto him the Gouernement of *Castile* during his life; which hee had layed his plot to worke him vnto, both by some *Councellors* of his about him, which FERDINANDO had at his deuotion, and chiefly by Promise, that in case PHILIP gaue not way vnto it, hee would marrie some young *Ladie*, whereby to put him by the *Succession* of *Arragon* and *Granada*, in case hee should haue a Sonne. And lastly, by representing vnto him that the Gouernement of the *Burgundians*, till PHILIP were by continuance in *Spaine* made as Naturall of *Spaine*, would not bee indured by the *Spaniards*. But in all those things (though wisely layed downe and considered) FERDINANDO failed; But that PLVTO was better to him, than PALLAS.

In the same Report also, the *Ambassadours* beeing meane men, and therefore the more free, did strike vpon a String which was somewhat dangerous. For they declared plainely, that the People of *Spaine*, both *Nobles* and *Commons*, were better affected vnto the part of PHILIP (so hee brought his wife with him)

than

than to FERDINANDO; And expreſſed the reaſon to bee, becauſe hee had impoſed vpon them many *Taxes*, and *Tallages*, which was the Kings owne Caſe betweene him and his Sonne.

There was alſo in this Report a Declaration of an *Ouerture* of *Marriage*, which AMASON the *Secretarie* of FERDINANDO had made vnto the *Ambaſſadours* in great ſecret, betweene CHARLES *Prince* of *Caſtile* and MARIE the Kings ſecond Daughter; aſſuring the king, that the *Treatie* of *Marriage* then on foot, for the ſaid *Prince* and the *Daughter* of *France*, would breake; and that ſhee the ſaid Daughter of *France* ſhould bee married to ANGOLESME, that was the *Heire apparant* of *France*.

There was a touch alſo of a ſpeech of *Marriage* betweene FERDINANDO and *Madame de* FOIS, a *Ladie* of the *Bloud* of *France*, which afterwards indeed ſucceeded. But this was reported as learned in *France*, and ſilenced in *Spaine*.

The King by the returne of this *Ambaſſage*, which gaue great light vnto his *Affaires*, was well inſtructed, and prepared how to carrie himſelfe betweene FERDINANDO King of *Arragon*, and PHILIP his *Sonne-in-law*, King of *Caſtile*; reſoluing with himſelfe, to doe all that in him lay to keepe them at one within themſelues; But howſoeuer that ſucceeded, by a moderate Carriage and bearing the Perſon of a *Common-friend*, to looſe neither of their Friendſhips; but yet to runne a *Courſe* more *entire* with the King of *Arragon*, but more *laboured* and *officious* with the King of *Caſtile*. But hee was much taken with the Ouerture of *Marriage* with his Daughter MARIE; Both becauſe it was the greateſt *Marriage* of *Chriſtendome*, and for that it tooke hold of both *Allies*.

But to corroborate his *Alliance* with PHILIP, the Windes gaue him an Enter-view. For PHILIP choo-

chooſing the *Winter-Seaſon*, the better to ſurpriſe the King of *Arragon*, ſet forth with a great Nauie out of *Flanders* for *Spaine* in the Moneth of *Ianuarie*, the one and Twentieth yeare of the Kings Raigne. But himſelfe was ſurpriſed with a cruell *Tempeſt*, that ſcattered his Ships vpon the ſeuerall Coaſts of *England*. And the Ship wherein the *King* and *Queene* were (with two other ſmall *Barkes* onely) torne, and in great perill to eſcape the Furie of the weather, thruſt into *Waymouth*. King PHILIP himſelfe, hauing not beene vſed (as it ſeemes) to Sea, all wearied and extreame ſicke, would needes land ro refreſh his Spirits, though it was againſt the Opinion of his *Councell*, doubting it might breed *Delay*, his Occaſions requiring *Celeritie*.

The Rumour of the Arriuall of a puiſſant *Nauie* vpon the Coaſt, made the Countrie Arme. And Sir THOMAS TRENCHARD with Forces ſuddenly raiſed, not knowing what the matter might bee, came to *Waymouth*. Where vnderſtanding the Accident, hee did in all Humbleneſſe and Humanitie inuite the *King* and *Queene* to his Houſe; and forthwith diſpatched *Poſts* to the *Court*. Soone after came Sir IOHN CAROE likewiſe, with a great troupe of Men well armed; vſing the like Humbleneſſe and Reſpect towards the king, when hee knew the Caſe. King PHILIP doubting that they, being but *Subiects*, durſt not let him paſſe away againe, without the Kings Notice and Leaue, yeelded to their Entreaties, to ſtaie till they heard from the *Court*. The king aſſoone as hee heard the *Newes*, commanded preſently the *Earle* of *Arundell*, to goe to viſite the king of *Caſtile*, and let him vnderſtand; That as hee was verie ſorrie for his Miſhap, ſo hee was glad that hee had eſcaped the Danger of the Seas, and likewiſe of the Occaſion himſelfe had to doe him Honour; and

deſiring

desiring him, to thinke himselfe as in his owne Land; and that the king made all haste possible to come and imbrace him. The *Earle* came to him in great Magnificence, with a braue *Troupe* of three hundred *Horse*; and (for more *State*) came by *Torch-Light*. After hee had done the Kings Message, King PHILIP seeing how the world went, the sooner to get away, went vpon speed to the King at *Windsore*, and his Queene followed by easie iourneys. The two kings at their meeting vsed all the *Caresses*, and louing Demonstrations, that were possible. And the king of *Castile* said pleasantly to the King; *That hee was now punished, for that he would not come within his walled Towne of* Calice, *when they met last.* But the king answered, *That walles and Seas were nothing, where Hearts were open; and that hee was here no otherwise, but to bee serued.* After a Day or two's refreshing, the kings entred into speech of renewing the *Treatie*; The King saying, That though King PHILIPS Person were the same, yet his *Fortunes* and *State* were raised. In which Case a Renouation of *Treatie* was vsed amongst *Princes*. But while these things were in handling, the king choosing a fit time, and drawing the king of *Castile* into a Roome, where they two onely were priuate, and laying his hand ciuilly vpon his arme, and changing his Countenance a little from a Countenance of *Intertainment*, said to him; *Sir, you haue beene saued vpon my Coast, I hope you will not suffer mee to wracke vpon yours.* The *King* of *Castile* asked him, *What hee meant by that speech? I meane it* (saith the King) *by that same Harebraine wilde Fellow, my subiect, the* Earle *of* Suffolke, *who is protected in your Countrie, and begins to play the Foole, when all others are wearie of it.* The *King* of *Castile* answered; *I had thought* (Sir) *your Felicitie had beene aboue those thoughts. But if it trouble you, I will banish him.* The King replied; *Those Horuets*

Hornets were best in their Nest, and worst then when they did flie abroad, that his desire was, to haue him deliuered to him. The King of *Castile* herewith a little confused, and in a studie, said; *That can I not doe with my honour, and lesse with yours; for you will bee thought to haue vsed mee as a Prisoner.* The King presently said; *Then the matter is at an end. For I will take that dishonour vpon me, and so your honour is saued.* The King of *Castile*, who had the king in great Estimation, and besides remembred where hee was, and knew not what vse hee might haue of the kings Amitie, for that himselfe was new in his Estate of *Spaine*, and vnsetled, both with his *Father-in-Law*, and with his *People*, composing his Countenance, said; *Sir, you giue Law to mee; but so will I to you. You shall haue him, but (vpon your honour) you shall not take his life.* The king embracing him, said; *Agreed.* Saith the king of *Castile*, *Neither shall it dislike you, if I send to him in such a fashion, as hee may partly come with his owne good will.* The king said; *It was well thought of; and if it pleased him, hee would ioyne with him, in sending to the* Earle *a Message to that purpose.* They both sent seuerally, and meane while they continued *Feasting* and *Pastimes.* The King beeing (on his part) willing to haue the *Earle* sure before the king of *Castile* went; and the king of *Castile* beeing as willing to seeme to bee inforced. The King also with many wise and excellent Perswasions, did aduise the king of *Castile*, to bee ruled by the *Councell* of his *Father-in-Law* FERDINANDO; a *Prince* so prudent, so experienced, so fortunate. The King of *Castile* (who was in no verie good termes with his said *Father-in-Law*) answered; *That if his Father-in-Law would suffer him to gouerne his Kingdomes, hee should gouerne him.*

There were immediatly *Messengers* sent from both Kings to recall the *Earle* of *Suffolke*: Who

vpon

vpon gentle wordes vſed to him was ſoone charmed, and willing enough to returne; aſſured of his *Life*, and hoping of his *Libertie*. Hee was brought through *Flanders* to *Calice*, and thence landed at *Douer*, and with ſufficient *Guard* deliuered and receiued at the *Tower* of *London*. Meane while King HENRY (to draw out the time) continued his *Feaſtings* and *Entertainments*, and after hee had receiued the king of *Caſtile* into the *Fraternitie* of the *Garter*, and for a *Reciprocall* had his Sonne the *Prince* admitted to the *Order* of the *Golden-Fleece*, hee accompanied *King* PHILIP and his *Queene* to the *Citie* of *London*; where they were entertayned with the greateſt *Magnificence* and *Triumph*, that could bee vpon no greater warning. And as ſoone as the *Earle* of *Suffolke* had beene conueyed to the *Tower* (which was the ſerious part) the *Iollities* had an end, and the Kings tooke leaue. Neuertheleſſe during their beeing heere, they in Subſtance concluded that *Treatie*, which the *Flemings* terme *Intercurſus magnus*, and beares Date at *Windſore*; for that there bee ſome things in it, more to the Aduantage of the *Engliſh*, than of them; eſpecially, for that the *Free-fiſhing* of the *Dutch* vpon the Coaſts and Seas of *England*, granted in the *Treatie* of *Vndecimo*, was not by this *Treatie* confirmed. *All Articles* that confirme former *Treaties* beeing preciſely and warily limitted and confirmed to matter of *Commerce* onely, and not otherwiſe. It was obſerued, that the great *Tempeſt* which draue PHILIP into *England*, blew downe the *Golden Eagle*, from the *Spire* of PAVLES, and in the fall it fell vpon a Signe of the *Blacke Eagle*, which was in PAVLES *Church-Yard*, in the

place where the *Schoole-House* now ſtandeth, and battered it, and brake it downe. Which was a ſtrange *ſtooping* of a *Hawke* vpon a *Fowle*. This the People interpreted to bee an *Aminous Prognoſticke* vpon the *Imperiall House*, which was (by *Interpretation* alſo) fulfilled vpon PHILIP the *Emperours* Sonne, not onely in the Preſent Diſaſter of the *Tempeſt*, but in that that followed. For PHILIP arriuing into *Spaine*, and attaining the Poſſeſſion of the *Kingdome* of *Caſtile* without reſiſtance, (inſomuch as FERDINANDO, who had ſpoke ſo great before, was with difficultie admitted to the ſpeech of his *Sonne-in-Law*) ſickned ſoone after, and deceaſed. Yet after ſuch time as there was an *Obſeruation* by the wiſeſt of that *Court*, That if hee had liued, his *Father* would haue gained vpon him in that ſort, as hee would haue gouerned his *Councells*, and *Deſignes*, if not his *Affections*. By this all *Spaine* returned into the power of FERDINANDO in ſtate as it was before; the rather, in regard of the infirmitie of IOAN his Daughter, who louing her Husband (by whom ſhee had many Children) dearely well, and no leſſe beloued of him (howſoeuer her *Father*, to make PHILIP ill beloued of the People of *Spaine*, gaue out that PHILIP vſed her not well) was vnable in ſtrength of minde to beare the Griefe of his Deceaſe, and fell diſtracted of her *Wittes*. Of which *Maladie* her *Father* was thought no wayes to endeuour the *Cure*, the better to hold his *Regall Power* in *Caſtile*. So that as the *Felicitie* of CHARLES the Eighth was ſaid to bee a *Dreame*, ſo the *Aduerſitie* of FERDINANDO was ſaid likewiſe to bee a *Dreame*, it paſſed ouer ſoſoone.

About

About this time the King was desirous to bring into the House of LANCASTER *Celestiall Honour*, and became Suitor to *Pope* IVLIVS, to Canonize King HENRY the Sixt for a *Saint*; the rather, in respect of that his famous *Prediction* of the Kings owne Assumption to the *Crowne*. IVLIVS referred the matter (as the manner is) to certaine *Cardinalls*, to take the verification of his *Holy Acts* and *Miracles*. But it died vnder the Reference. The generall Opinion was, that *Pope* IVLIVS was too deare, and that the King would not come to his *Rates*. But it is more probable, That that *Pope* (who was extremely iealous of the Dignitie of the *Sea* of *Rome*, and of the *Actes* thereof) knowing that King HENRY the Sixth was reputed in the world abroad but for a *Simple Man*, was affraide it would but diminish the Estimation of that kinde of *Honour*, if there were not a distance kept betweene *Innocents* and *Saints*.

The same yeare likewise there proceeded a *Treatie* of *Marriage* betweene the King and the *Ladie* MARGARET *Duchesse* Dowager of *Sauoy*, onely Daughter to MAXIMILIAN, and Sister to the King of *Castile*; a *Ladie* wise, and of great good *Fame*. This Matter had beene in speech betweene the two Kings at their meeting, but was soone after resumed; and therein was imployed for his first piece the Kings then *Chaplaine*, and after the great *Prelate* THOMAS WOLSEY. It was in the end concluded, with great and ample Conditions for the king, but with promise *De Futuro* only. It may be the king was the rather induced vnto it, for that he heard more and more of the *Marriage* to goe on betweene his great *Friend* and *Allie* FERDINANDO of *Arragon*, and *Madame de* FOIS, whereby that King beganne to piece with the

French King, from whom hee had beene alwayes before seuered. So fatall a thing it is, for the greatest and straitest Amities of Kings, at one time or other to haue a little of the *Wheele*. Nay there is a further *Tradition* (in *Spaine*, though not with vs) That the King of *Arragon*, after hee knew that the *Marriage* betweene CHARLES, the young *Prince* of *Castile*, and MARIE the Kings second Daughter went roundly on (which though it was first mooued by the King of *Arragon*, yet it was afterwards wholly aduanced and brought to perfection by MAXIMILIAN, and the Friends on that side) entred into a iealousie, that the King did aspire to the Gouernment of *Castilia*, as *Administrator* during the Minoritie of his *Sonne-in-Law*; as if there should haue beene a Competition of *Three* for that Gouernment; FERDINANDO, *Grand-father* on the Mothers side; MAXIMILIAN, *Grand-father* on the Fathers side; and King HENRIE, *Father-in-Law* to the young *Prince*. Certainely, it is not vnlike, but the Kings Gouernment (carrying the young *Prince* with him) would haue beene perhaps more welcome to the *Spaniards*, than that of the other *Two*. For the Nobilitie of *Castilia*, that so lately put out the King of *Arragon*, in fauour of King PHILIP, and had discouered themselues so farre, could not bee but in a secret Distrust and Distaste of that King. And as for MAXIMILIAN, vpon Twentie respects hee could not haue beene the Man. But this purpose of the Kings seemeth to mee (considering the Kings safe Courses, neuer found to bee enterprizing or aduenturous) not greatly probable, except hee should haue had a Desire to breathe warmer, because hee had ill *Lungs*. This *Marriage* with MARGARET was protracted from time to time, in respect of the *Infirmitie* of the King, who now in the two

and Twentieth of his Raigne beganne to bee troubled with the *Goute*. But the Defluxion taking alſo into his Breſt, waſted his *Lungs*, ſo that thrice in a Yeare (in a kinde of Returne, and eſpecially in the *Spring*,) hee had great Fitts and Labours of the *Tiſsicke*. Neuertheleſſe, hee continued to intend Buſineſſe with as great diligence, as before in his Health. Yet ſo, as vpon this warning, hee did likewiſe now more ſeriouſly thinke of the World to come, and of making himſelfe a *Saint*, aſwell as King HENRIE the Sixth, by *Treaſure* better imployed, than to bee giuen to *Pope* IVLIVS. For this Yeare hee gaue greater *Almes* than accuſtomed, and diſcharged all *Priſoners* about the *Citie*, that lay for *Fees* or *Debts*, vnder fortie ſhillings. Hee did alſo make haſte with Religious *Foundations*; and in the Yeare following (which was the Three and Twentieth) finiſhed that of the *Sauoy*. And hearing alſo of the bitter *Cryes* of his *People* againſt the *Oppreſsions* of DVDLEY and EMPSON, and their Complices; partly by Deuout Perſons about him, and partly by publicke *Sermons* (the *Preachers* doing their Dutie therein) Hee was touched with great Remorſe for the ſame. Neuertheleſſe, EMPSON and DVDLEY, though they could not but heare of theſe Scruples in the Kings Conſcience; yet as if the Kings *Soule* and his *Money* were in ſeuerall *Offices*; that the One was not to intermeddle with the Other; went on with as great rage as euer. For the ſame three and Twentieth Yeare was there a ſharpe Proſecution againſt *Sir* VVILLIAM CAPELL now the ſecond time; and this was for Matters of Miſgouernment in his *Maioraltie*. The great Matter beeing, that in ſome Payments hee had taken knowledge of *Falſe Moneys*, and did not

not his diligence to examine, and beate it out, who were the Offendours. For this and some other things layed to his Charge, hee was condemned to pay Two Thousand Pounds; and being a Man of stomacke, and hardened by his former Troubles, refused to pay a *Mite*; and hee like vsed some vntoward Speeches of the Proceedings, for which hee was sent to the *Tower*, and there remayned till the Kings Death. KNESVVORTH likewise, that had beene lately *Maior* of *London*, and both his *Sheriffes*, were, for Abuses in their Offices, questioned, and imprisoned, and deliuered, vpon one Thousand foure hundred pounds payed. HAVVIS, an *Alderman* of *London*, was put in Trouble, and died with Thought, and Anguish, before his Businesse came to an end. *Sir* LAVVRENCE AILMER, who had likewise beene *Maior* of *London*, and his two *Sheriffes*, were put to the Fine of one Thousand Pounds. And *Sir* LAVVRENCE, for refusing to make payment, was committed to Prison, where hee stayed till EMPSON himselfe was committed in his place.

It is no marueile (if the *Faults* were so light, and the *Rates* so heauie) that the Kings Treasure of store, that hee left at his death, most of it in secret places, vnder his owne Key and keeping, at *Richmond*, amounted (as by Tradition it is reported to haue done) vnto the Summe of neare Eighteene hundred thousand pounds Sterling; a huge Masse of *Money*, euen for these times.

The last *Act* of *State* that concluded this kings Temporall Felicitie, was the Conclusion of a Glorious *Match* betweene his Daughter MARIE, and CHARLES Prince of *Castile*, afterwards the great

great *Emperour*, both being of tender yeares. Which *Treatie* was perfected by *Bishop* FOXE, and other his *Commissioners* at *Calice*; the yeare before the Kings Death. In which *Alliance*, it seemeth hee himselfe tooke so high Contentment, as in a Letter which hee wrote thereupon to the *Citie* of *London* (commaunding all possible demonstrations of ioy to bee made for the same) hee expresseth himselfe, as if hee thought hee had built a *Wall* of *Brasse* about his Kingdome. When hee had for his *Sonnes-in-law*, a *King* of *Scotland*, and a *Prince* of *Castile* and *Burgundie*. So as now there was nothing to bee added to this great Kings Felicitie, beeing at the top of all worldly *Blisse*, (in regard of the high *Marriages* of his Children, his great *Renowne* throughout *Europe*, and his scarce credible *Riches*, and the perpetuall *Constancie* of his prosperous Successes) but an opportune *Death*, to withdraw him from any future blowe of *Fortune*. Which certainely (in regard of the great *Hatred* of his *People*, and the *Title* of his *Sonne*, being then come to Eighteene yeares of age, and being a bold *Prince*, and liberall, and that gained vpon the *People* by his very *Aspect* and *Presence*) had not beene impossible to haue come vpon him.

To crowne also the last yeare of his Raigne, as well as his first, hee did an *Act* of *Pietie*, rare, and worthy to bee taken into Imitation. For hee granted forth a *Generall Pardon*, as expecting a second *Coronation* in a better *Kingdome*. Hee did also declare in his *Will*, that his minde was, that *Restitution* should bee made of those *Summes*, which had beene vniustly taken by his *Officers*.

And thus this SALOMON of *England* (for SALOMON also was too heauie vpon his *People* in

in *Exactions*) hauing liued two and fiftie yeares, and thereof Raigned three and twentie yeares, and eight Moneths; beeing in perfect *Memorie*, and in a most Blessed *Minde*, in a great *Calme* of a *Consuming Sickenesse* passed to a better World, the two and twentieth of *Aprill*, 1508. at his *Palace* of *Richmond*, which himselfe had built.

This

THis King (*to ſpeake of him in Termes equall to his Deſeruing*) *was one of the beſt ſort of* VVonders; *a* VVonder *for* VViſemen. *Hee had parts* (*both in his* Vertues, *and his* Fortune) *not ſo fit for a* Common-place, *as for* Obſeruation. *Certainly hee was* Religious, *both in his* Affection, *and* Obſeruance. *But as hee could ſee cleare* (*for thoſe times*) *through* Superſtition, *ſo he would be blinded* (*now and then*) *by Humane* Policie. *Hee aduanced* Church-men; *hee was tender in the Priuiledge of* Sanctuaries, *though they wrought him much miſchiefe. Hee built and endowed many* Religious Foundations, *beſides his* Memorable Hoſpitall *of the* Sauoy. *And yet was hee a great* Almes-giuer *in ſecret; which ſhewed, that his* VVorkes in publique *were dedicated rather to* GODS Glorie, *than his owne. Hee profeſſed alwaies to loue and ſeeke* Peace; *and it was his vſuall* Preface *in his* Treaties, That when CHRIST came into the *World, Peace* was ſung; and when HEE went out of the *World, Peace* was bequeathed. *And this* Vertue *could not proceede out of* Feare, *or* Softneſſe; *for he was* Valiant *and* Actiue; *and therefore* (*no doubt*) *it was truely* Chriſtian *and* Morall. *Yet hee knew the way to* Peace, *was not to ſeeme*

to bee desirous to auoyde VVarres. Therefore would he make Offers, and Fames of VVarres, till hee had mended the Conditions of Peace. It was also much, that one that was so great a Louer of Peace, should be so happie in VVarre. For his Armes (eyther in Forraine or Ciuill VVarres) were neuer Infortunate; neyther did he know what a Disaster meant. The VVarre of his Comming in, and the Rebellions of the Earle of Lincolne, and the Lord AWDLEY were ended by Victorie. The VVarres of France and Scotland, by Peaces sought at his hands. That of Brittaine, by accident of the Dukes death. The Insurrection of the Lord LOVEL, and that of PERKIN at Excester, and in Kent, by flight of the Rebells, before they came to Blowes. So that his Fortune of Armes was still Inuiolate. The rather sure, for that in the quenching of the Commotions of his Subiects, hee euer went in Person. Sometimes reseruing himselfe to backe and second his Lieutenants, but euer in Action; and yet that was not meerely Forwardnesse, but partly Distrust of others.

Hee did much maintaine and countenance his Lawes. Which (neuertheless) was no Impediment to him to worke his VVill. For it was so handled, that neyther Prerogatiue, nor

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Profit went to Diminution. And yet as hee would ſometimes ſtraine vp his Lawes to his Prerogatiue, ſo would hee alſo let downe his Prerogatiue to his Parliament. For Minte, and Warres, and Marſhall Diſcipline, (things of Abſolute Power) hee would neuertheleſſe bring to Parliament. Iuſtice was well adminiſtred in his time, ſaue where the King was Partie: Saue alſo, that the Councell-Table intermedled too much with Meum and Tuum. For it was a very Court of Iuſtice during his time, eſpecially in the Beginning. But in that part both of Iuſtice and Policie, which is the Durable Part, and cut (as it were) in Braſſe or Marble (which is The making of good Lawes) he did excell. And with his Iuſtice, hee was alſo a Mercifull Prince. As in whoſe time, there were but three of the Nobilitie that ſuffered; the Earle of Warwicke, the Lord Chamberlaine, and the Lord AWDLEY. Though the firſt two were inſtead of Numbers, in the Diſlike and Obloquie of the People. But there were neuer ſo great Rebellions, expiated with ſo little Bloud, drawne by the hand of Iuſtice, as the two Rebellions of Black-heath and Exceſter. As for the Seueritie vſed vpon thoſe which were taken in Kent, it was but vpon a Scumme of

People. His Pardons *went euer both before, and after his* Sword. *But then hee had withall a ſtrange kinde of* Interchanging *of large and inexpected* Pardons, *which ſeuere* Executions. *Which (his Wiſedome conſidered) could not bee imputed to any* Inconſtancie, *or* Inequalitie; *but either to ſome* Reaſon *which we do not now know, or to a* Principle *hee had ſet vnto himſelfe,* That hee would varie, and try both wayes in turne. *But the leſſe* Bloud *hee drew, the more hee tooke of* Treaſure. *And (as ſome conſtrued it) hee was the more ſparing in the* One, *that hee might bee the more preſsing in the* Other; *for both would haue beene intollerable. Of* Nature *aſſuredly hee coueted to accumulate* Treaſure, *and was a little* Poore *in admiring* Riches. *The* People (*into whom there is infuſed, for the preſeruation of* Monarchies, *a naturall Deſire to diſcharge their* Princes, *though it bee with the vniuſt charge of their* Councellours *and* Miniſters) *did impute this vnto* Cardinall MORTON, *and Sir* REGINOLD BRAY. *Who (as it after appeared) as* Councellours *of ancient Authoritie with him, did ſo ſecond his* Humours, *as neuertheleſſe they did temper them. Whereas* EMPSON, *and* DVDLEY *that followed, beeing Perſons that had no* Reputation *with him, ſo-*

therwise than by the ſeruile following of his Bent) did not giue way onely (as the firſt did) but ſhape him way to thoſe Extreamities, for which himſelfe was touched with remorſe at his Death, and which his Succeſſour renounced, and ſought to purge. This Exceſſe of his, had at that time many Gloſſes and Interpretations. Some thought the continuall Rebellions wherewith hee had beene vexed, had made him grow to hate his People. Some thought it was done to pull downe their Stomackes, and to keep them low. Some, for that hee would leaue his Sonne a Golden fleece. Some ſuſpected he had ſome high Deſigne vpon Forraine parts. But thoſe perhaps ſhall come neareſt the truth, that fetch not their reaſons ſo far off; but rather impute it to Nature, Age, Peace, and a Minde fixed vpon no other Ambition or Purſuit. Whereunto I ſhould adde, that hauing euery day Occaſion to take notice of the Neceſsities and Shifts for Money of other great Princes abroad, it did the better (by Compariſon) ſet off to him the Felicitie of full Coffers. As to his expending of Treaſure, he neuer ſpared Charge which his Affaires required; and in his Buildings was Magnificent, but his Rewards were very limitted. So that his Liberalitie was rather vpon his owne State and Memorie, than vpon the Deſerts of others.

Hee

Hee was of an High Minde, and loued his owne Will, and his owne Way; as One that reuered himselfe, and would Reigne indeed. Had hee beene a Priuate-man, hee would haue beene termed Proud. But in a wise Prince, it was but keeping of Distance, which indeede hee did towards all; not admitting any neare or full Approach, neither to his Power or to his Secrets. For hee was gouerned by none. His Queene (notwithstanding shee had presented him with diuers Children, and with a Crowne also, (though hee would not acknowledge it) could doe nothing with him. His Mother hee reuerenced much, heard little. For any Person agreeable to him for Societie (such as was HASTINGS to King EDWARD the Fourth, or CHARLES BRANDON after to King HENRY the Eight) hee had none: Except wee should account for such Persons, FOXE, and BRAY, and EMPSON, because they were so much with him. But it was but as the Instrument is much with the Worke-man. Hee had nothing in him of Vaine-glorie, but yet kept State and Maiestie to the height; Being sensible, That Maiestie maketh the People bow, but Vaine-glorie boweth to them.

To his Confederates abroade he was Constant

ſtant and Iuſt, but not Open. But rather ſuch was his Inquirie, and ſuch his Cloſeneſſe, as they ſtood in the Light towards him, and hee ſtood in the Darke to them. Yet without Strangeneſſe, but with a ſemblance of mutuall Communication of Affaires. As for little Enuies, or Emulations vpon Forraine Princes (which are frequent with many Kings) hee had neuer any; but went ſubſtantially to his owne Buſineſſe. Certaine it is, that though his Reputation was great at home, yet it was greater abroad. For Forrainers that could not ſee the Paſſages of Affaires, but made their Iudgements vpon the Iſſues of them, noted that hee was euer in Strife, and euer a Loft. It grew alſo from the Aires, which the Princes and States abroad receiued from their Ambaſſadours and Agents here; which were attending the Court in great number. Whom hee did not onely content with Courteſie, Reward, and Priuateneſſe; but (vpon ſuch Conferences as paſſed with them) put them in Admiration, to finde his Vniuerſall Inſight into the Affaires of the World. Which though hee did ſucke chiefely from themſelues; yet that which hee had gathered from them all, ſeemed Admirable to euery one. So that they did write euer to their Superiours in high tearmes, concerning

cerning his Wisedome and Art of Rule; Nay, when they were returned, they did commonly maintaine Intelligence with him. Such a Dexteritie hee had to impropriate to himselfe all Forraine Instruments.

Hee was carefull and liberall to obtaine good Intelligence from all parts abroad. Wherein hee did not onely vse his Interest in the Leigers here, and his Pensioners which hee had both in the Court of Rome, and other the Courts of Christendome; but the Industrie and Vigilancie of his owne Ambassadours in Forraine parts. For which purpose, his Instructions were euer Extreame, Curious, and Articulate; and in them more Articles touching Inquisition, than touching Negotiation. Requiring likewise from his Ambassadours an Answer, in particular distinct Articles, respectiuely to his Questions.

As for his secret Spialls, which hee did imploy both at home and abroade, by them to discouer what Practices and Conspiracies were against him, surely his Case required it: He had such Moles perpetually working and casting to vndermine him. Neither can it bee reprehended. For if Spialls bee lawfull against lawfull Enemies, much more against Conspirators, and Traitors. But indeede to giue them

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Credence *by* Othes *or* Curses, *that cannot bee well maintayned; For thoſe are too holy* Veſtments *for a* Diſguiſe. *Yet ſurely there was this further* Good *in his employing of theſe* Flies *and* Familiars; *That as the vſe of them was cauſe that many* Conſpiracies *were reuealed, ſo the* Fame *and* Suſpition *of them kept (no doubt) many* Conſpiracies *from being attempted.*

Towards his Queene *hee was nothing* Vxorious, *nor ſcarce* Indulgent; *but* Companiable, *and* Reſpectiue, *and without* Iealouſie. *Towards his* Children *hee was full of* Paternall Affection, *Carefull of their* Education, *aſpiring to their* High Aduancement, *regular to ſee that they ſhould not want of any due* Honour *and* Reſpect; *but not greatly willing to caſt anie* Popular Luſtre *vpon them.*

To his Councell *hee did referre much, and ſate oft in Perſon; knowing it to bee the Way to aſſiſt his* Power, *and informe his* Iudgement. *In which reſpect alſo hee was fairely patient of* Libertie, *both of* Aduiſe, *and of* Vote, *till himſelfe were declared. Hee kept a ſtrait hand on his* Nobilitie, *and roſe rather to aduance* Clergie-men *and* Lawyers, *which were more* Obſequious *to him, but had*

leſſe Intereſt *in the* People; *which made for his* Abſoluteneſſe, *but not for his* Saferie. *In ſo much as (I am perſwaded) it was one of the* Cauſes *of his troubleſome* Raigne: *for that his* Nobles, *though they were* Loyall *and* Obedient, *yet did not* Co-operate *with him, but let euery man goe his owne Way. Hee was not affraid of an* Able Man, *as* LEWIS *the Eleuenth was. But contrariwiſe, hee was ſerued by the* Ableſt Men *that were to bee found; without which his Affaires could not haue proſpered as they did. For* VVarre, BEDFORD, OXFORD, SVRREY, DAWBENEY, BROOKE, POYNINGS. *For other* Affaires, MORTON, FOXE, BRAY, *the Prior of* Lanthony, WARHAM, VRSVVICKE, HVSSEY, FROWICKE, *and others. Neyther did hee care how* Cunning *they were, that hee did imploy; For hee thought himſelfe to haue the* Maſter-Reach. *And as hee choſe well, ſo hee held them vp well. For it is a ſtrange thing, that though hee were a* Darke Prince, *and infinitely* Suſpicious, *and his Times full of* Secret Conſpiracies *and* Troubles; *yet in Twentie foure yeares* Raigne, *hee neuer put downe, or diſcomposed* Counſellor, *or neere* Seruant, *ſaue onely* STANLEY, *the Lord* Chamberlaine.

As for the Diſpoſition *of his* Subiects *in Generall towards him, it ſtood thus with him; That of the* Three Affections, *which naturally tie the hearts of the* Subiects *to their* Soueraignes, Loue, Feare, *and* Reuerence; *hee had the* laſt *in height, the* ſecond *in good meaſure, and ſo little of the* firſt, *as hee was beholding to the other* Two.

Hee was a Prince, Sad, Serious, *and full of* Thoughts, *and ſecret* Obſeruations, *and full of* Notes *and* Memorialls *of his owne hand, eſpecially touching* Perſons. *As, whom to Employ, whom to Reward, whom to Enquire of, whom to Beware of, what were the* Dependencies, *what were the* Factions, *and the like; keeping (as it were) a* Iournall *of his* Thoughts. *There is to this day a merrie* Tale; *That his* Monkie (*ſet on as it was thought by one of his Chamber*) *tore his Principall* Note-Booke *all to pieces, when by chance it lay forth. Whereat the* Court (*which liked not thoſe Penſiue* Accompts) *was almoſt tickled with ſport.*

Hee was indeed full of Apprehenſions *and* Suſpitions. *But as hee did eaſily take them, ſo hee did eaſily checke them, and maſter them: whereby they were not dangerous, but troubled himſelfe more then others. It is true, his* Thoughts *were ſo many, as they could not well*

alwayes ſtand together; but that which did good one way, did hurt another. Neither did hee at ſome times waigh them aright in their proportions. Certainely, that Rumour which did him ſo much miſchiefe (That the Duke of Yorke ſhould bee ſaued, and aliue) was (at the firſt) of his owne nouriſhing; becauſe hee would haue more Reaſon not to raigne in the Right of his Wife. Hee was Affable, and both Well and Faire-ſpoken; and would vſe ſtrange Sweetneſſe and Blandiſhments of Words, where hee deſired to effect or perſwade any thing that hee tooke to heart. Hee was rather Studious, then Learned; reading moſt Bookes that were of any worth, in the French-tongue. Yet hee vnderſtood the Latine, as appeareth in that Cardinall HADRIAN, and others, who could very well haue written French, did vſe to write to him in Latine.

For his Pleaſures, there is no Newes of them. And yet by his Inſtructions to MARSIN, and STILE, touching the Queene of Naples, it ſeemeth hee could Interrogate well touching Beautie. Hee did by Pleaſures, as great Princes doe by Banquets, come and looke a little vpon them, and turne away. For neuer Prince was more wholly giuen to his Affaires, nor in them more of himſelfe; In ſo much, as

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in Triumphes *of* Iusts, *and* Tourneys, *and* Balles, *and* Masques (*which they then called* Disguises) *hee was rather a* Princely *and Gentle* Spectator, *then seemed much to bee delighted.*

No doubt, in him as in all men (and most of all in Kings) *his* Fortune *wrought vpon his* Nature, *and his* Nature *vpon his* Fortune. *Hee attayned to the* Crowne, *not onely from a priuate* Fortune, *which might indow him with* Moderation; *but also from the* Fortune *of an* Exiled Man, *which had quickned in him all* Seedes *of* Obseruation *and* Industrie. *And his* Times *being rather* Prosperous, *then* Calme, *had raised his* Confidence *by* Successe, *but almost marred his* Nature *by* Troubles. *His* Wisdome, *by often* euading *from* Perils, *was turned rather into a* Dexteritie *to deliuer himselfe from* Dangers, *when they pressed him, then into a* Prouidence *to preuent and remooue them a farre of. And euen in* Nature, *the* Sight *of his* Minde *was like some* Sights *of* Eyes; *rather strong at hand, then to carrie a farre of. For his* Witt *increased vpon the* Occasion; *and so much the more, if the* Occasion *were sharpened by* Danger. *Againe, whether it were the shortnesse of his* Fore-sight, *or the strength of his* Will, *or the dazeling of*

of his Suſpitions, *or what it was; Certaine it is, that the perpetuall* Troubles *of his* Fortunes (*there being no more matter out of which they grew*) *could not haue beene without ſome great* Defects, *and mayne* Errours *in his* Nature, Cuſtomes, *and* Proceedings, *which he had enough to doe to ſaue and helpe, with a thouſand little* Induſtries *and* Watches. *But thoſe doe beſt appeare in the* Storie *it ſelfe. Yet take him with all his* Defects, *if a* Man *ſhould compare him with the* Kings *his* Concurrents, *in* France *and* Spaine, *he ſhall find him more* Politique *then* LEWIS *the twelfth of* France, *and more* Entire *and* Sincere *then* FERDINANDO *of* Spaine. *But if you ſhall change* LEWIS *the twelfth, for* LEWIS *the Eleuenth, who liued a little before; then the* Conſort *is more perfect. For that* LEWIS *the Eleuenth,* FERDINANDO, *and* HENRY, *may bee eſteemed for the* Tres Magi *of* Kings *of thoſe* Ages. *To conclude, If this* King *did no greater* Matters, *it was long of himſelfe; for what he minded, he compaſſed.*

Hee was a Comely Perſonage, *a little aboue* Iuſt Stature, *well and ſtraight limmed, but ſlender. His* Countenance *was* Reuerend, *and a little like a* Church-man: *And as it was not* ſtrange *or* darke, *ſo neyther was it*

Win-

VVinning or Pleasing, but as the Face of one well disposed. But it was to the Disaduantage of the Painter; for it was best when he spake.

His VVorth may beare a Tale or two, that may put vpon him somewhat that may seeme Diuine. When the Ladie MARGARET his Mother had diuerse great Sutors for Marriage, shee dreamed one Night, That one in the likenesse of a Bishop, in Pontificall habit, did tender her EDMVND Earle of Richmond (the Kings Father) for her Husband. Neyther had she euer any Child but the King, though shee had three Husbands. One day when King HENRY the Sixth (whose Innocencie gaue him Holines) was washing his hands at a great Feast, and cast his Eye vpon King HENRY, then a young Youth, he said; This is the Lad, that shall possesse quietly that, that wee now striue for. But that that was truely Diuine in him, was, that hee had the Fortune of a True Christian, as well as of a Great King, in liuing Exercised, and dying Repentant. So as hee had an happie Warrefare in both Conflicts, both of Sinne, and the Crosse.

Hee was borne at Pembrooke Castle, and lyeth buried at VVestminster, in one of the Statelyest and Daintiest Monuments

of

of Europe, both for the Chappell, and for the Sepulchre. So that hee dwelleth more richly Dead, in the Monument of his Tombe, than hee did Aliue in Richmond, or any of his Palaces. I could wish he did the like, in this Monument of his Fame.

FINIS.

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